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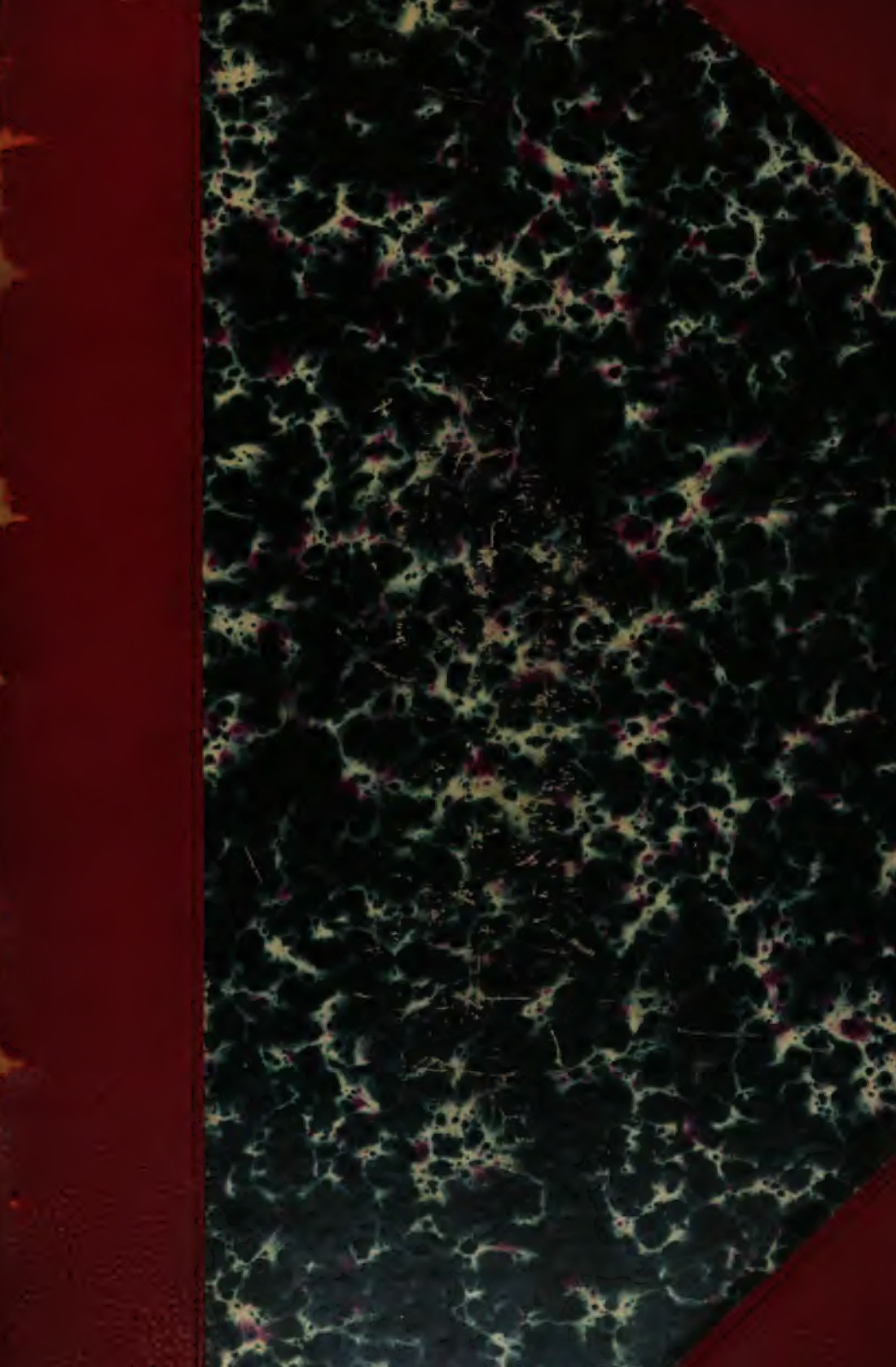
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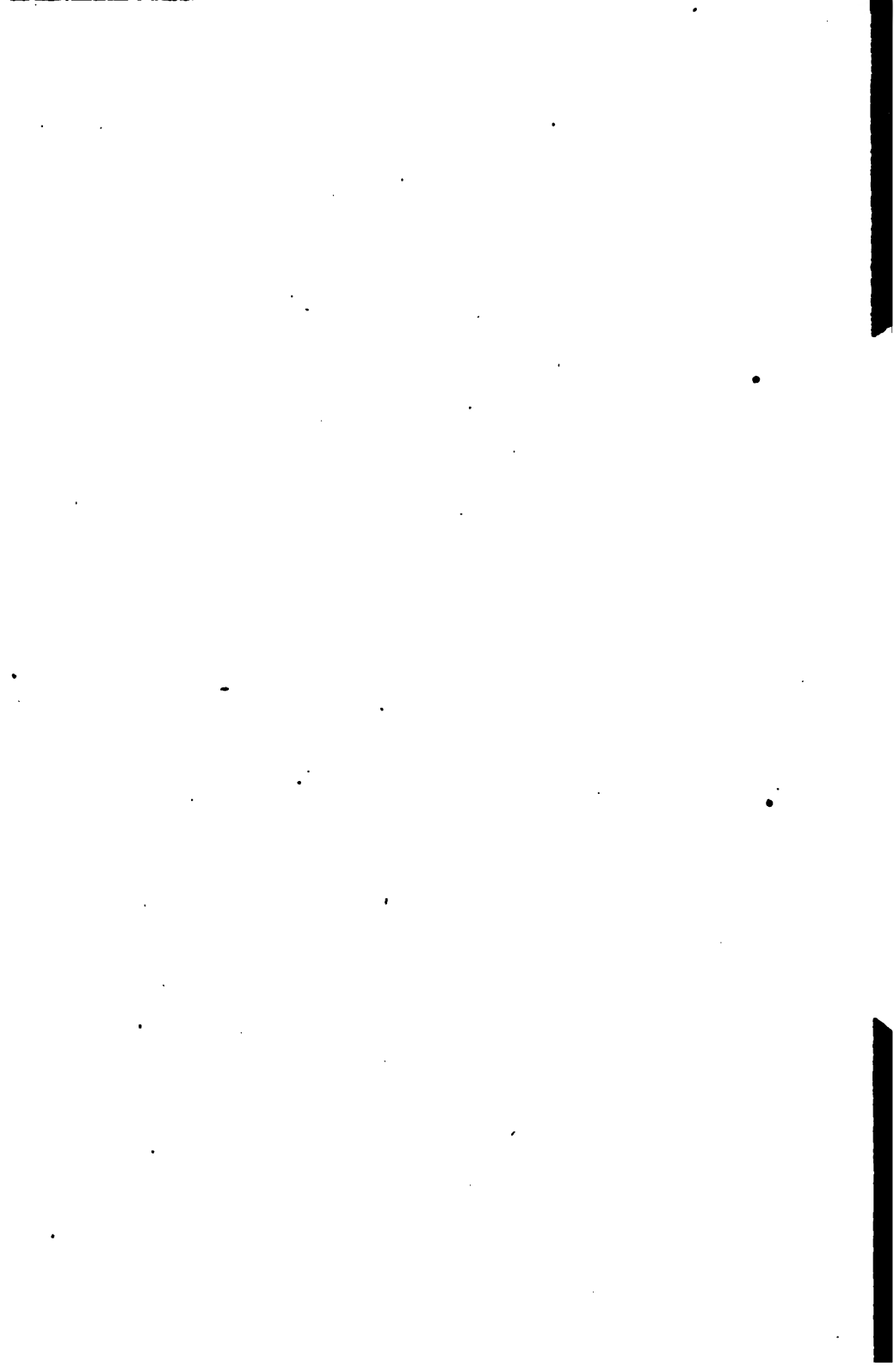
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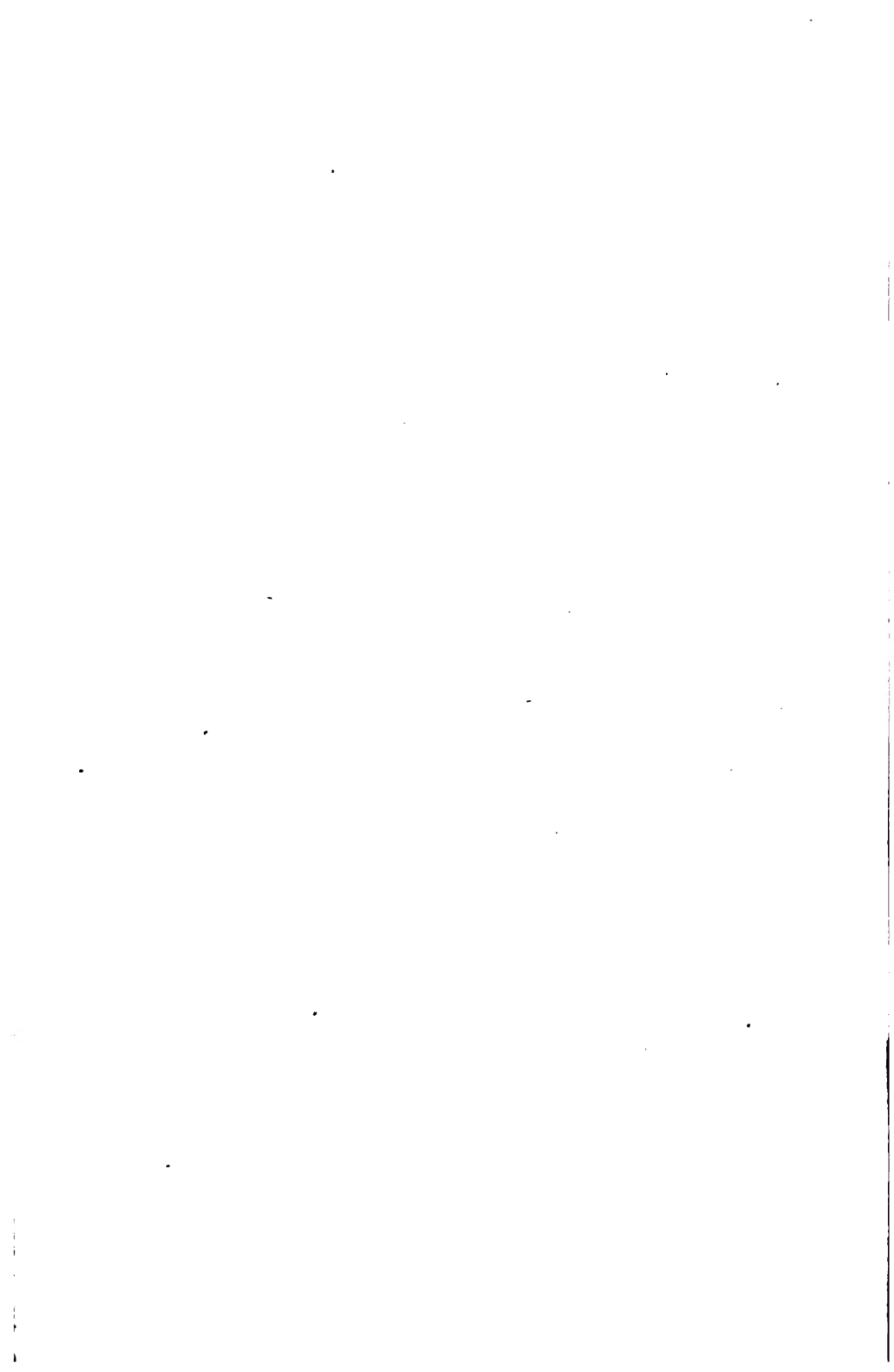
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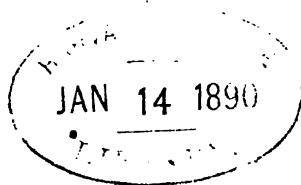
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*INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHENTICITY
AND GENUINENESS OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.*

THIS lecture originally formed one of a series connected with Christian evidences, and delivered in St. George's Hall in 1871. The other lectures were published shortly afterwards; but, not having been informed beforehand that publication was expected, I withheld my own from the volume. It seemed to me that in the course of a single lecture I could only touch the fringes of a great subject, and that injustice would be done by such imperfect treatment as alone time and opportunity allowed. Moreover I was then, and for some terms afterwards, engaged in lecturing on this Gospel at Cambridge, and I entertained the hope that I might be able to deal with the subject less inadequately if I gave myself more time. Happily it passed into other and better hands, and I was relieved from this care.

A rumour got abroad at the time, and has (I am informed) been since repeated, that I did not allow the lecture to be published, because I was *dissatisfied* with it. I was only dissatisfied in the sense which I have already explained. It could not be otherwise than unsatisfactory to bring forward mere fragmentary evidence of an important conclusion, when there was abundant proof in the background. The present publication of the lecture is my answer to this rumour. I give it after eighteen years exactly in the same form in which it was originally written, with the exception of a few verbal alterations. Looking over it again after

this long lapse of time, I have nothing to withdraw. Additional study has only strengthened my conviction that this narrative of St. John could not have been written by any one but an eye-witness.

As I have not dealt with the external evidences except for the sake of supplying a statement of the position of antagonists, the treatment suffers less than it would otherwise have done from not being brought down to date. I have mentioned by way of illustration two respects in which later discoveries had falsified Baur's contentions. The last eighteen years would supply several others. I will single out three: (1) The antagonists of the Ignatian Epistles are again put on their defence. The arguments which were adduced against the genuineness of these epistles will hold no longer. Ignatius has the testimony of his friend and contemporary Polycarp, and Polycarp has the testimony of his own personal disciple Irenæus. The testimony of Irenæus is denied by no one; the testimony of Polycarp is only denied because it certifies to the Ignatian letters. Before we are prepared to snap this chain of evidence rudely, and to break with an uninterrupted tradition, we require far stronger reasons than have been hitherto adduced. (2) Justin Martyr wrote before or about the middle of the second century. His use of the Fourth Gospel was at one time systematically denied by the impugnors of its apostolic authorship. Now it is acknowledged almost universally, even by those who do not allow that this evangelical narrative was written by St. John himself. (3) The *Diatessaron* of Tatian was written about A.D. 170, and consisted of a "Harmony of Four Gospels." Baur and others contended that at all events St. John was not one of the four. Indeed how could it be? for it had not been written, or only recently written, at this time. The *Diatessaron* itself has been discovered, and a commentary of Ephraem Syrus upon it in Armenian has likewise

been unearthed within the last few years, both showing that it began with the opening words of St. John.

The fourth of our canonical gospels has been ascribed by the tradition of the Church to St. John the son of Zebedee, the personal disciple of our Lord, and one of the twelve apostles. Till within a century (I might almost say, till within a generation) of the present time, this has been the universal belief—with one single and unimportant exception—of all ages, of all churches, of all sects, of all individuals alike.

This unanimity is the more remarkable in the earlier ages of the Church, because the language of this gospel has a very intimate bearing on numberless theological controversies which started up in the second, third, and fourth centuries of the Christian era; and it was therefore the direct interest of one party or other to deny the apostolic authority, if they had any ground for doing so. This happened not once or twice only, but many times. It would be difficult to point to a single heresy promulgated before the close of the fourth century, which might not find some imaginary points of coincidence or some real points of conflict—some relations whether of antagonism or of sympathy—with this gospel. This was equally true of Montanism in the second century, and of Arianism in the fourth. The Fourth Gospel would necessarily be among the most important authorities—we might fairly say *the* most important authority—in the settlement of the controversy, both from the claims which it made as a product of the beloved apostle himself, and from the striking representations which it gives of our Lord's teaching. The defender or the impugner of this or that theological opinion would have had a direct interest in disproving its genuineness and denying its authority. Can we question that this would have been done again and again, if there

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had been any haze of doubt hanging over its origin, if the antagonist could have found even a *prima facie* ground for an attack?

And this brings me to speak of that one exception to the universal tradition to which I have already alluded. Once, and once only, did the disputants in a theological controversy yield to the temptation, strong though it must have been. A small, unimportant, nameless sect—if indeed they were compact enough to form a sect—in the latter half of the second century, denied that the Gospel and the Apocalypse were written by St. John. These are the two canonical writings which especially attribute the title of the Word of God, the Logos, to our Lord: the one, in the opening verses, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God”; the other, in the vision of Him who rides on the white horse, whose garments are stained with blood, and whose name is given as the “Word of God.” To dispose of the doctrine they discredited the writings. Epiphanius calls them *Alogi*, “the opponents of the Word,” or (as it might be translated, for it is capable of a double meaning) “the irrational ones.” The name is avowedly his own invention. Indeed they would scarcely have acknowledged a title which had this double sense, and could have been so easily turned against themselves. They appear only to disappear. Beyond one or two casual allusions, they are not mentioned; they have no place in history.

This is just one of those exceptions which strengthens the rule. What these *Alogi* did numberless other sectaries and heretics would doubtless have done, if there had been any sufficient ground for the course. But even these *Alogi* lend no countenance to the views of modern objectors. Modern critics play off the Apocalypse against the Gospel, allowing the genuineness of the former, and using it to impugn the genuineness of the latter. Moreover there is

the greatest difference between the two. The modern antagonist places the composition of the Fourth Gospel in the middle or the latter half of the second century ; these ancient heretics ascribed it to the early heresiarch Cerinthus, who lived at the close of the first century, and was a contemporary of St. John. Living themselves in the latter half of the second century, they knew (as their opponents would have reminded them, if they had found it convenient to forget the fact) that the Gospel was not a work of yesterday, that it had already a long history, and that it went back at all events to the latest years of the apostolic age ; and in their theory they were obliged to recognise this fact. I need hardly say that the doctrine of the Person of Christ put forward in the Gospel and the Apocalypse is diametrically opposed to the teaching of Cerinthus, as every modern critic would allow. I only allude to this fact, to show that these very persons, who form the single exception to the unanimous tradition of all the churches and all the sects alike, are our witnesses for the antiquity of the Gospel (though not for its authenticity), and therefore are witnesses *against* the modern impugnors of its genuineness.

With this exception, the early testimony to the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospel is singularly varied. It is a remarkable and an important fact, that the most decisive and earliest testimony comes, not from Fathers of the orthodox Church, but from heretical writers. I cannot enter upon this question at length, for I did not undertake this afternoon to speak of the *external* evidence ; and I ask you to bear in mind, that any inadequate and cursory treatment necessarily does a great injustice to a subject like this ; for the ultimate effect of testimony must depend on its fulness and variety. I only call attention to the fact that within the last few years most valuable additions have been made to this external testimony, and these from

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the opposite extremes of the heretical scale. At the one extreme we have *Ebionism*, which was the offspring of Judaizing tendencies; at the other, *Gnosticism*, which took its rise in Gentile license of speculation and practice. Ebionism is represented by a remarkable extant work belonging to the second century, possibly to the first half of the second century, the *Clementine Homilies*. The greater part of this work has long been known, but until within the last few years the printed text was taken from a MS mutilated at the end; so that of the twenty Homilies the last half of the nineteenth and the whole of the twentieth are wanting. These earlier Homilies contained more than one reference to gospel history which could not well be referred to any of the three first evangelists, and seemed certainly to have been taken from the fourth. Still the reference was not absolutely certain, and the impugnors of St. John's Gospel availed themselves of this doubt to deny the reference to this gospel. At length, in the year 1853, Dressel published for the first time, from a Vatican MS, the missing conclusion of these Homilies; and this was found to contain a reference to the incidents attending the healing of the man born blind, related only by St. John, and related in a way distinctly characteristic of St. John—a reference so distinct, that no one from that time has attempted to deny or to dispute it.

So much for the testimony of Ebionism—of the *Judaic* sects of early Christianity. But equally definite, and even more full, is the testimony which recent discovery has brought to light on the side of *Gnosticism*. Many of my hearers will remember the interest which was excited a few years ago by the publication of a lost treatise on heresies, which Bunsen and others ascribed (and, as is now generally allowed, correctly ascribed) to Hippolytus, in the earlier part of the third century. This treatise contains large and frequent extracts from previous Gnostic writers of diverse

schools—Ophites, Basilideans, Valentinians; among them, from a work which Hippolytus quotes as the production of Basilides himself, who flourished about A.D. 130–140. And in these extracts are abundant quotations from the Gospel of St. John.

I have put these two recent accessions to the external testimony in favour of the Fourth Gospel side by side, because, emanating from the most diverse quarters, they have a peculiar value, as showing the extensive circulation and wide reception of this gospel at a very early date; and because also, having been brought to light soon after its genuineness was for the first time seriously impugned, they seem providentially destined to furnish an answer to the objections of recent criticism.

If we ask ourselves why we attribute this or that ancient writing to the author whose name it bears — why, for instance, we accept this tragedy as a play of Sophocles, or that speech as an oration of Demosthenes,—our answer will be, that it bears the name of the author, and (so far as we know) has always been ascribed to him. In very many cases we know nothing, or next to nothing, about the history of the writing in question. In a few instances we are fortunate enough to find a reference to it, or a quotation from it, in some author who lived a century or two later. The cases are exceptionally rare when there is an indisputable allusion in a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, writer. For the most part, we accept the fact of the authorship, because it comes to us on the authority of a MS or MSS written several centuries after the presumed author lived, supported in some cases by quotations in a late lexicographer, or grammarian, or collection of extracts.

The external testimony in favour of St. John's Gospel reaches back much nearer to the writer's own time and is far more extensive than can be produced in the case of

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most classical writings of the same antiquity. From the character of the work also, this testimony gains additional value; for where the contents of a book intimately affect the cherished beliefs and the practical conduct of all who receive it, the universality of its reception, amidst jarring creeds and conflicting tendencies, is far more significant than if its contents are indifferent, making no appeal to the religious convictions, and claiming no influence over the life. We may be disposed to complain that the external testimony is not so absolutely and finally conclusive in itself that no door is open for hesitation, that all must, despite themselves, accept it, and that any investigation into the internal evidence is superfluous and vain. But this we have no right to demand. If it is as great, and more than as great, as would satisfy us in any other case, this should suffice us. In all the most important matters which affect our interests in this world and our hopes hereafter, God has left some place for diversity of opinion, because He would not remove all opportunity of self-discipline.

If then the genuineness of this gospel is supported by greater evidence than in ordinary cases we consider conclusive, we approach the investigation of its internal character with a very strong presumption in its favour. The *onus probandi* rests with those who would impugn its genuineness, and nothing short of the fullest and most decisive marks of spuriousness can fairly be considered sufficient to counterbalance this evidence.

As I proceed, I hope to make it clear that, allowing their full weight to all the difficulties (and it would be foolish to deny the existence of difficulties) in this gospel, still the internal marks of authenticity and genuineness are so minute, so varied, so circumstantial, and so unsuspecting, as to create an overwhelming body of evidence in its favour.

But before entering upon this investigation, it may be

worth while to inquire whether the hypotheses suggested by those who deny the genuineness of this gospel are themselves free from all difficulties. For if it be a fact (as I believe it is) that any alternative which has been proposed introduces greater perplexities than those which it is intended to remove, we are bound (irrespective of any positive arguments in its favour) to fall back upon the account which is exposed to fewest objections, and which at the same time is supported by a continuous and universal tradition.

We may take our start from Baur's theory, for he was the first to develop and systematize the attack on the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. According to Baur it was written about the year 170. The external testimony however is alone fatal to this very late epoch ; for, after all wresting of evidence and post-dating of documents, it is impossible to deny that at this time the gospel was, not only in existence, but also received far and wide as a genuine document ; that it was not only quoted occasionally, but had even been commented upon as the actual work of St. John. Consequently the tendency of later impugnors has been to push the date farther back, and to recede from the extreme position of this, its most determined and ablest antagonist. Hilgenfeld, who may be regarded as the successor of Baur, and the present representative of the Tübingen school (though it has no longer its headquarters at Tübingen), would place its composition about the year 150 ; and Tayler, who a few years ago (1867) reproduced the argument of Baur and others in England, is disposed to assign it to about the same date. With a strange inconsistency he suggests, towards the close of his book, that its true author may have been John the presbyter, though John the presbyter is stated by Papias (who had conversed with this John, and from whom all the information we possess respecting him is derived) to have been a personal

disciple of our Lord, and therefore could hardly have been older than John the apostle, and certainly could not have been living towards the middle of the second century.

This tendency to recede nearer and nearer to the evangelist's own age shows that the pressure of facts has begun to tell on the theories of antagonistic criticism, and we may look forward to the time when it will be held discreditable to the reputation of any critic for sobriety and judgment to assign to this gospel any later date than the end of the first century, or the very beginning of the second.

But meanwhile, let us take the earliest of these dates (A.D. 140) as less encumbered with difficulties, and therefore more favourable to the opponents of its genuineness, and ask whether a gospel written at such a time would probably have presented the phenomena which we actually find in the fourth canonical gospel. We may interrogate alike its omissions and its contents. On this hypothesis, how are we to account for what it has left unsaid, and for what it has said?

Certainly it must be regarded as a remarkable phenomenon, that on many ecclesiastical questions which then agitated the minds of Christians it is wholly silent, while to others it gives no distinct and authoritative answer. Our Lord's teaching has indeed its bearing on the controversies of the second century, as on those of the fourth, or of the twelfth, or of the sixteenth, or of the nineteenth: but, as in these latter instances, its lessons are inferential rather than direct, they are elicited by painful investigation, they are contained implicitly in our Lord's life and person, they do not lie on the surface, nor do they offer definite solutions of definite difficulties.

Take, for instance, the dispute concerning the episcopate. Contrast the absolute silence of this gospel respecting this institution with the declarations in the Epistles of Ignatius. A modern defender of the episcopate will appeal to the

commission given to the apostles (John xx. 22, 23). I need not stop here to inquire to what extent it favours his views. But obviously it is quite insufficient by itself. It would serve almost equally well for an apostolically ordained ministry of any kind, for a presbyteral as for an episcopal succession. Is it possible that a writer, composing a gospel at the very time when the authority of this office had been called in question, if a supporter of the power of the episcopate, would have resisted the temptation of inserting something which would convey a sanction, if an opponent, something which would convey a disparagement, of this office, in our Lord's own name?

Or, again : take the Gnostic theories of emanations. Any one who has studied the history of the second century will know how large a place they occupy in the theological disputes of the day ; what grotesque and varied forms they assume in the speculations of different heretical teachers ; what diverse arguments, some valid, some fanciful, are urged against them by orthodox writers. Would a forger have hesitated for a moment to slay this many-headed hydra by one well-aimed blow? What can we suppose to have been the object of such a forger, except to advance certain theological views? And why should he have let slip the very opportunity, which (we must suppose) he was making for himself, of condemning the worst forms of heresy from our Lord's own lips? It is true that you and I think we see (and doubtless think rightly), that the doctrine of God the Word taught in St. John's Gospel is the real answer to the theological questionings which gave rise to all these theories about æons or emanations, and involves implicitly and indirectly the refutation of all such theories. But it is only by more or less abstruse reasoning that we arrive at this conclusion. The early Gnostics did not see it so ; they used St. John's Gospel, and retained their theories notwithstanding. A forger would have taken care

to provide a direct refutation which it was impossible to misunderstand.

Or, again : about the middle of the second century the great controversy respecting the time of celebrating Easter was beginning to lift up its head. For the latter half of this century the feud raged, bursting out ever afresh and disturbing the peace of the Church again and again, until it was finally set at rest in the fourth century at the Council of Nicæa. Was the festival of the Lord's resurrection to be celebrated always on the same day of the week, the Sunday? or was it to be guided by the time of the Jewish Passover, and thus to take place on the same day of the month, irrespective of the day of the week? Each community, each individual, took a side in this controversy.

Unimportant in itself, it seriously endangered the existence of the Church. The daring adventurer who did not hesitate to forge a whole gospel would certainly not be deterred by any scruple from setting the matter at rest by a few strokes of the pen. His narrative furnished more than one favourable opportunity for interposing half a dozen decisive words in our Lord's name: and yet he abstained.

Thus we might take in succession the distinctive ecclesiastical controversies of the second century, and show how the writer of the Fourth Gospel holds aloof from them all: certainly a strange and almost incredible fact, if this writer lived about the middle, or even in the latter half, of the century; and, as a romancer, was not restrained by those obligations of fact which fetter the truthful historian who is himself a contemporary of the events recorded!

But if the omissions of the writer are strange and unaccountable on the assumption of the later date of the Gospel, the actual contents present still greater difficulties on the same hypothesis. In the interval between the age when the events are recorded to have taken place and the age

in which the writer is supposed to have lived, a vast change had come over the civilized world. In no period had the dislocation of Jewish history been so complete. Two successive hurricanes had swept over the land and nation. The devastation of Titus had been succeeded by the devastation of Hadrian. What the locust of the first siege had left the cankerworm of the second had devoured. National polity, religious worship, social institutions, all were gone. The city had been razed, the land laid desolate, the law and the ordinances proscribed, the people swept into captivity or scattered over the face of the earth. "Old things had passed away; all things had become new."

Now let us place ourselves in the position of one who wrote about the middle of the second century, after the later Roman invasion had swept off the scanty gleanings of the past which had been spared from the earlier. Let us ask how a romancer so situated is to make himself acquainted with the incidents, the localities, the buildings, the institutions, the modes of thought and feeling, which belonged to this past age and (as we may almost say) this bygone people. Let it be granted that here and there he might stumble upon a historical fact, that in one or two particulars he might reproduce a national characteristic. More than this would be beyond his reach. For, it will be borne in mind, he would be placed at a great disadvantage, compared with a modern writer; he would have to reconstruct history without those various appliances, maps and plates, chronological tables, books of travel, by which the author of a historical novel is so largely assisted in the present day.

And even if he had been furnished with all these aids, would he have known how to use them? The uncritical character of the apostolic age is a favourite commonplace with those who impugn the genuineness of the canonical Scriptures, or the trustworthiness of the evangelical narra-

tives. I do not deny that the age (compared with our own) was uncritical, though very exaggerated language is often used on the subject. But obviously this argument has a double edge. And the keener of these two edges lies across the very throat of recent negative criticism. For it requires a much higher flight of critical genius to invent an extremely delicate fiction than to detect it when invented. The age which could not expose a coarse forgery was incapable of constructing a subtle historical romance. This one thing I hope to make clear in the short time that is allowed me this afternoon. The Fourth Gospel, if a forgery, shows the most consummate skill on the part of the forger; it is (as we should say in modern phrase) thoroughly in keeping. It is replete with historical and geographical details; it is interpenetrated with the Judaic spirit of the time; its delineations of character are remarkably subtle; it is perfectly natural in the progress of the events; the allusions to incidents or localities or modes of thought are introduced in an artless and unconscious way, being closely interwoven with the texture of the narrative; while throughout, the author has exercised a silence and a self-restraint about his assumed personality which is without a parallel in ancient forgeries, and which deprives his work of the only motive that, on the supposition of its spuriousness, would account for his undertaking it at all.

In all these respects it forms a direct contrast to the known forgeries of the apostolic or succeeding ages. I will only ask my hearers who are acquainted with early apocryphal literature to compare St. John's Gospel with two very different and yet equally characteristic products of the first and second centuries of the Christian era—with the *Protevangelium*, or Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, on the one hand, and with the *Clementine Homilies*, on the other: the former, a vulgar daub dashed in by a coarse hand in bright and startling colours; the other, a subtle philosophical

romance, elaborately drawn by an able and skilful artist. But both the one and the other are obviously artificial in all their traits, and utterly alien to the tone of genuine history.

Such productions as these show what we might expect to find in a gospel written at the middle or after the middle of the second century.

If then my description of the Fourth Gospel is not overcharged (and I will endeavour to substantiate it immediately), the supposition that this gospel was written at this late epoch by a resident at Alexandria or at Ephesus will appear in the highest degree incredible; and, whatever difficulties the traditional belief may involve, they are small indeed compared with the improbabilities created by the only alternative hypothesis.

I have already proved that the absence of certain topics in this gospel seems fatal to its late authorship. I shall now proceed to investigate those phenomena of its actual contents which force us to the conclusion that it was written by a Jew contemporary with and cognisant of the facts which he relates, and more especially those indications which fix the authorship on the Apostle St. John. It is necessary however to premise by way of caution, that exhaustive treatment is impossible in a single lecture, and that I can only hope to indicate a line of investigation which any one may follow out for himself.

First of all then, the writer was a Jew. This might be inferred with a very high degree of probability from his Greek style alone. It is not ungrammatical Greek, but it is distinctly Greek of one long accustomed to think and speak through the medium of another language. The Greek language is singularly rich in its capabilities of syntactic construction, and it is also well furnished with various connecting particles. The two languages with which a Jew of Palestine would be most familiar—the Hebrew,

which was the language of the sacred Scriptures, and the Aramaic, which was the medium of communication in daily life—being closely allied to each other, stand in direct contrast to the Greek in this respect. There is comparative poverty of inflexions, and there is an extreme paucity of connecting and relative particles. Hence in Hebrew and Aramaic there is little or no syntax, properly so called.

Tested by his style then, the writer was a Jew. Of all the New Testament writings the Fourth Gospel is the most distinctly Hebraic in this respect. The Hebrew simplicity of diction will at once strike the reader. There is an entire absence of periods, for which the Greek language affords such facility. The sentences are co-ordinated, not subordinated. The clauses are strung together, like beads on a string. The very monotony of arrangement, though singularly impressive, is wholly unlike the Greek style of the age.

More especially does the influence of the Hebrew appear in the connecting particles. In this language the single connecting particle ו is used equally, whether co-ordination or opposition is implied; in other words, it represents "but" as well as "and." The Authorized Version does not adequately represent this fact, for our translators have exercised considerable license in varying the renderings: "then," "moreover," "and," "but," etc. Now it is a noticeable fact, that in St. John's Gospel the capabilities of the Greek language in this respect are most commonly neglected; the writer falls back on the simple "and" of Hebrew diction, using it even where we should expect to find an adversative particle. Thus v. 39, 40, "Ye search the Scriptures, for in them ye think that ye have eternal life: *and* they are they which testify of Me: *and* ye will not come to Me"; vii. 19, "Did not Moses give you the law, *and* none of you keepeth the law?" where our English version has inserted an adversative particle to assist the sense,

"and yet"; vii. 30, "Then they sought to take Him: and no man laid hands on Him," where the English version substitutes "but no man"; vii. 33, "Then said Jesus unto them, Yet a little while am I with you, and I go to Him that sent Me," where again our translators attempt to improve the sense by reading "and then." And instances might be multiplied.

The Hebrew character of the diction moreover shows itself in other ways: by the parallelism of the sentences, by the repetition of the same words in different clauses, by the order of the words, by the syntactical constructions, and by individual expressions. Indeed so completely is this character maintained throughout, that there is hardly a sentence which might not be translated literally into Hebrew or Aramaic, without any violence to the language or to the sense.

I might point also to the interpretation of Aramaic words, as Cephias, Gabbatha, Golgotha, Messias, Rabboni, Siloam, Thomas, as indicating knowledge of this language. On such isolated phenomena however no great stress can fairly be laid, because such interpretations do not necessarily require an extensive acquaintance with the language; and when the whole cast and colouring of the diction can be put in evidence, an individual word here and there is valueless in comparison.

There are however two examples of proper names in this Gospel on which it may be worth while to remark; because the original is obscured in our English Bibles by a false reading in the Greek text used by our translators, and because they afford incidentally somewhat strong testimony to the writer's knowledge both of the language and of contemporary facts.

The first of these is *Iscaiot*. In the other three gospels this name is attributed to the traitor apostle Judas alone. In St. John's Gospel also, as represented in the received

text and in our English version, this is the case. But if the more correct readings be substituted, on the authority of the ancient copies, we find it sometimes applied to Judas himself (xii. 4, xiii. 2, xiv. 22), and sometimes to Judas' father Simon (*e.g.* vi. 71, "He spake of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot"; xiii. 26, "He giveth it to Judas the son of Simon Iscariot"). Now this shows that the evangelist knew this not to be a proper name strictly so called, but to describe the native place of the person, "the man of Kerioth," and hence to be applicable to the father and the son alike.

The other instance which I shall give, at first sight presents a difficulty; but when further investigated it only adds fresh testimony to the exact knowledge of the Fourth Evangelist. In St. Matthew, Simon Peter is called Bar-Jona (Matt. xvi. 17); *i.e.* son of Jona (or Jonan or Jonas). Accordingly in the received text of St. John also he appears in not less than four passages (i. 42, xxi. 15-17) as Simon son of Jona (or Jonan or Jonas). But there can be no reasonable doubt that the correct reading in all these four passages is "Simon son of Joannes"—the Hebrew and Aramaic Johanan, the English John—and that later transcribers have altered it to make it accord with the form adopted by St. Matthew. Here there is an apparent discrepancy, which however disappears on examination; for we find that Jona or Jonan or Jonas is more than once used in the LXX version of the Old Testament as a contracted form of the name Johanan, Johannes, or John. Thus the statements of the two evangelists are reconciled; and we owe it to the special knowledge derived from the Fourth Gospel that the full and correct form is preserved. For, when we have once got this key to the fact, we can no longer question that John was the real name of Peter's father, since it throws great light on our Lord's words in St. Matthew. The ordinary name Jonah, which was borne by the prophet, and which is generally supposed to

be the name of Simon's father, signifies "a dove"; but the name Johanan or John is "the grace of God." Hence the Baptist is called not Zechariah, as his relatives thought natural, but John, in accordance with the heavenly message (Luke i. 13), because he was specially given to his parents by God's grace. So too the call of St. Peter (John i. 42) becomes full of meaning: "Thou art Simon the son of the grace of God; thou shalt be called Cephas"; and the final commission given to the same apostle is doubly significant, when we interpret the thrice repeated appeal as "Simon son of God's grace, lovest thou Me?" for without this interpretation the studied repetition of his patronymic seems somewhat meaningless. Bearing this fact in mind, we turn to the passage of St. Matthew (xvi. 17): "Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona (son of the grace of God): for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church." His name and his surname alike are symbols and foreshadowings of God's special favour to him in his call and commission. This is only one of many instances in which the authenticity of the statements of the Fourth Gospel is confirmed by the fact that they incidentally explain what is otherwise unexplained in the narrative of the synoptic evangelists.

Another evidence that the writer was acquainted with the Hebrew language is furnished by the quotations from the Old Testament. This evangelist, like St. Paul, sometimes cites from the current Greek version of the Seventy, and sometimes translates directly from the Hebrew. When a writer, as is the case in the Epistle to the Hebrews, quotes largely and quotes uniformly from the LXX version, this is at least an indication that he was not acquainted with the original; and hence we infer that the epistle just mentioned was not written by St. Paul, a Hebrew of the

Hebrews, but by some disciple, a Hellenistic Jew, thoroughly interpenetrated with the apostle's mind and teaching, but ignorant of the language of his forefathers. If on any occasion the quotations of a writer accord with the original Hebrew against the LXX version, we have a right to infer that he was acquainted with the sacred language, was, in fact, a Hebrew or Aramaic-speaking Jew. Several decisive examples might be produced, but one must suffice. In xix. 37 is a quotation from Zechariah xii. 10, which in the original is, "They shall look upon Me whom they pierced." Accordingly it is given in St. John, "They shall look on Him whom they pierced (*ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*). But the LXX rendering is, "They shall gaze upon Me, because they insulted" (*ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*), where the LXX translators had a different reading, *וְרָךְ* for *וְרָךְ*, and where their Greek rendering has not a single word in common with St. John's text.

In xii. 40 again, the evangelist quotes Isaiah vi. 10, "Because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes," etc. Now this quotation is far from being verbally exact; for in the Hebrew the sentence is imperative, "Make fat the heart of this people, and make heavy their ears, and close their eyes, that they should not see with their eyes," etc. Yet, on the other hand, it does not contain any of the characteristic renderings of the LXX; and this is one distinct proof that, however loosely quoted, it was derived, not from the LXX, but from the original. For the LXX translators, taking offence, as it would seem, at ascribing the hardening of the heart to God's own agency, have thrown the sentence into a passive form: "The heart of this people was made fat, and with their ears they heard heavily, and their eyes they closed," etc., so as to remove the difficulty. If therefore the evangelist had derived the passage from the LXX, it is inconceivable that he would

have reintroduced the active form, thus wantonly reviving a difficulty, unless he had the original before him.

I will only add one other example. In xiii. 18 occurs a quotation from Psalm xli. 9 (xl. 10). Here the expression which in the original signifies literally "made great" or "made high" his heel is correctly translated "lifted up his heel" (*ἐπῆρεν τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ*), as in the A.V. of the Psalms. The LXX version however gives *ἐμεγάλυνεν πτερνισμόν*, "he multiplied (or increased) tripping up with the heel," or "treachery," which has given rise to the paraphrastic rendering in our Prayer-Book version, "laid great wait for me." Here again it is obvious that the evangelist's quotation could not have been derived from the LXX, but must have been rendered either directly from the Hebrew, or (what for my purpose is equally decisive) indirectly through some Chaldee targum.

If therefore we had no other evidence than the language, we might with confidence affirm that this gospel was not written either by a Gentile or by a Hellenistic Christian, but by a Hebrew accustomed to speak the language of his fathers. This fact alone negatives more than one hypothesis which has been broached of late years respecting its authorship, for it is wholly inconsistent with the strictly Gentile origin which most recent theories assign to it. But, though irreconcilable with Gentile authorship, it is not wholly inconsistent with the later date; for we cannot pronounce it quite impossible that there should be living in Asia Minor or in Egypt, in the middle or after the middle of the second century, a Judaic Christian familiar with the Hebrew or Aramaic language, however rare such instances may have been.

(To be continued.)

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

I. ETERNAL DESTRUCTION.

THE subject placed at the head of this paper I approach with extreme reluctance and diffidence. For I am deeply conscious of my powerlessness to remove the serious difficulties which surround it. No feeble torch of mine can illumine even with intellectual light the gloomy caverns of the lost.

Under these circumstances, a writer more cautious than myself would probably have maintained silence. But the widespread mental unrest, and the consequent spiritual injury, call loudly for help. And, although I cannot remove all difficulties, it seemed to me that a careful grammatical examination of the chief statements of the New Testament on this solemn subject might do good, by removing misconception touching the meaning which the sacred writers intended their words to convey. I was therefore unable to refuse the request of the editor of this magazine to discuss in its pages this exceedingly difficult subject.

In these papers I shall make no dogmatic assertions. It is not mine to pronounce sentence even upon those who reject the Gospel of Christ, but simply to reproduce, as accurately and fully as I can, the teaching of Christ and of His Apostles as embodied in the New Testament.

Our inquiry shall begin with the Epistles of Paul. These we will take in chronological order, except that in some measure we shall trace the more important words and phrases in their use and meaning throughout the Epistles, and indeed throughout the New Testament. This will give us at times a broader view of the teaching of the sacred volume. From the writings of Paul we shall pass

to the Fourth Gospel, to the Synoptist Gospels, then to other parts of the New Testament, and lastly to the Book of Revelation.

After completing this study, we shall discuss, in the light of it, various opinions now prevalent, and close this series of papers by summing up the chief results of our investigation.

The above method will have the advantage of shedding light, not only upon the subject before us, but on its relative importance as compared with other doctrines of the Gospel of Christ.

We begin with the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the earliest we have from the pen of St. Paul.

In 1 Thessalonians i. 10 we read that "*Jesus delivereth us from the coming wrath,*" or *anger*; in chapter ii. 16, "*Anger is come upon them to the end.*" The same word, commonly rendered *wrath*, but meaning simply *anger* of God or man, is frequently used by St. Paul to describe the future punishment of sin. In Romans ii. 5, he says to an impenitent man, "Thou art treasuring for thyself *anger* in a day of *anger*." And we read in verse 8 that "for those who obey unrighteousness there will be *anger* and fury." In chapter v. 9, St. Paul hopes to be "saved from the *anger*;" and speaks in chapter ix. 22 of "vessels of *anger* prepared for destruction." Similar language in Ephesians v. 6, Colossians iii. 6: "Because of these things cometh the *anger* of God."

From this conception of Divine anger must be carefully removed all thought of vindictive emotion. In this, the righteous anger of a loving parent affords a human pattern of the Divine. The anger of God is simply His determination to punish sin.

In 2 Thessalonians i. 8, we find a still stronger word: "*vengeance* for them that know not God." But even this by no means implies resentment. God's *vengeance* is, as the

form of the Greek word (*ἐκδίκησις*) suggests, the due punishment of sin.

In 1 Thessalonians v. 3, we read that in the day of the Lord there comes to the wicked "sudden *destruction*," from which "they shall in no wise escape." The word rendered destruction, *ὄλεθρος*, meets us again in a passage quoted above, 2 Thessalonians i. 9, as a description of the *vengeance* or due punishment awaiting those who know not God: "who will pay penalty, even eternal *destruction* from the presence" (literally "the face") "of the Lord, and from the glory of His might." These last words may mean either that the destruction will proceed from the manifested *face* of Christ appearing to judge the world and from the splendour which will accompany the putting forth of His might, or that the destruction will remove the guilty from the benign presence of Christ and from the splendour with which His power will cover His people. The latter is perhaps the better exposition; but certain decision is impossible. The same word is found in 1 Corinthians v. 5, "for *destruction* of the flesh;" and in 1 Timothy vi. 9, where it is associated with a cognate word *ἀπώλεια*. This last word is usually rendered *destruction* or *perdition*, and is used frequently in the New Testament to describe the fate of the lost. So Romans ix. 22, "prepared for *destruction*;" Philippians iii. 19, "whose end is *destruction*;" Matthew vii. 13, "leadeth to *destruction*." The cognate verb is frequently used by St. Paul and throughout the New Testament in the same sense.

These words demand now our most careful study.

The active form *ὀλλυμι* is common in Homer and the tragic poets in the sense of *kill*. So in *Iliad* bk. viii. 498 Hector speaks, "I said that I would *destroy* both the ships and all the Achæans, and depart back again to windy Ilios." So Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, l. 1456: "One woman (Helen) who *destroyed* many, very many, souls before Troy."

She caused the death of many Greeks. The same active form is often used by the same writers in the sense of *lose*. So in the *Odyssey*, bk. xix. 274, we read that Ulysses "*lost* his dear companions and hollow ship;" *i.e.* they perished at sea. In the same way the Latin *perdere* unites the senses of *destroy* and *lose*. In the middle voice and in the second perfect *δωλα*, the Greek verb before us is frequently used in the sense of *perish* by death. So *Iliad*, bk. iv. 450: "The shriek and the shout of men *destroying* and *being destroyed*."

In the same sense we find frequently, especially in later Greek, the corresponding forms of the verb *ἀπόλλυμι*. So Xenophon, *Hellenics*, bk. vii. 4, 13: "Many men and many weapons they *lost*, retreating through a rough country." The men were killed in battle. In both senses, *viz. to lose* and *to destroy* by death or otherwise, the word is very common.

In view of the frequent use of the word *δλλυμι* and its derivatives as synonyms of death, it is important to reproduce the current Greek conception of the state of the dead. This is made easy by bk. xi. of the *Odyssey*, which describes a visit of Ulysses to the realm of the dead, and his intercourse there with the souls of his dead acquaintances. All are conscious, all remember the things of earth, and some describe even the mode of their own death. But their existence is utterly worthless. Darkness and gloom overshadow the whole picture. Achilles (ll. 489-91) declares that the poorest lot on earth is better than that of the highest among the dead. We wonder not that such wretchedness is spoken of as *destruction*. For, according to Homer, the dead had lost everything worth having. Plato (e.g. *Republic*, pp. 614ff) describes the dead as still conscious. And this seems to have been the general conception of Greek writers.

With the above uses of the word agrees a not uncommon

use of the middle form *ἀπόλλυμαι*, especially in later Greek, in the sense of *ruin* of any kind. So Polybius, bk. xxxii. 19: "They did not wish the people in Italy to be in any way *ruined*, i.e. demoralised, by reason of the long peace:" *ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ κ.τ.λ.* Dio Chrysostom speaks (Or. xxxi. p. 348c) of very immoral men as "those to the last degree *ruined*:" *τοῖς ἐσχάτως ἀπολωλόσι*. Plutarch (*On the Love of Riches*, § 7) says of misers: "The children they think to educate they *ruin* (*ἀπολλουσι*) and pervert, planting in them their own love of money." The same writer (*Avoidance of Debts* § 8) represents Philoxenus as saying, in reference to the luxury at Syracuse, "These things shall not *destroy* (*ἀπολεῖ*) me, but I them." And in the *Life of Mark Antony*, chapter lxvi., the same writer speaks of Cleopatra as "the woman who had already *ruined* him, and *would ruin* him yet more:" *τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ προσαπολούσαν αὐτόν*. These last quotations I owe to an excellent paper by Mr. John Massey, of Mansfield College, in vol. ii. (p. 64) of the second series of this magazine.

Similarly, Sophocles in his *Edipus in Colonus* represents (l. 394) Ismené as saying to Oedipus, who had been smitten with a terrible calamity, "The gods lift thee now, but before they were *working thy ruin*:" *ᾠλλυσαν*.

In the *Phædo* of Plato the middle voice of the same word is frequently used about the soul in the sense of its ceasing to be, of complete dissipation. But it is worthy of note that when thus using the word Plato is careful to define his own meaning. So in the *Phædo*, p. 70a, we read: "In what relates to the soul men are apt to be incredulous; they fear that when she leaves the body she may be no longer anywhere, but that on the very day on which the man dies she may perish and *be destroyed* (*διαφθείρηται τε καὶ ἀπολλύηται*), immediately on her release from the body issuing forth dissolved like smoke or air, and in her flight vanishing away into nothingness." So p. 91d: "the soul

herself *be destroyed*, and this be death, *destruction* of the soul: " αὐτὴ ἀπολλύεται, καὶ ἡ αὐτὸ τοῦτο θάνατος, ψυχῆς ὄλεθρος. And so frequently.

In the New Testament the simpler form ὄλλυμι is not found. But ἀπόλλυμι is very common in precisely the same senses as in classic Greek. It is a frequent synonym of death, both of righteous and of wicked. It was foretold in Matthew ii. 13 that Herod would seek to *destroy* by death the infant Jesus. Christ declares in Matthew xxvi. 52 that "they who draw the sword *will be destroyed* by the sword." The Pharisees took counsel (Mark iii. 6) in order to *destroy* Jesus. Even righteous Zacharias is said, in Luke xi. 51, to *have been destroyed* between the altar and the house. Christ is recorded, in Luke xiii. 33, to have said that "it is impossible that a prophet *be destroyed* outside Jerusalem." On the stormy sea, as we read in Matthew viii. 25, the disciples cried, "*We are perishing*:" ἀπολλύμεθα. For they seemed to be sinking into the jaws of death.

In Matthew ix. 17 broken wine-skins are said to be *destroyed*, for they had received damage which made them useless.

In other passages the same word means *to lose*. Hence we have in Luke xv. 4-9 the *lost* sheep and the woman who *lost* a coin: τὸ ἀπολωλός . . . ἀπώλεσα. And in Matthew x. 42 we are told that he who gives a cup of cold water shall by no means *lose* his reward: οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ.

In a similar sense we have the substantive ἀπώλεια. The myrrh poured on the head of Christ, as recorded in Matthew xxvi. 8, is spoken of by the disciples as *destruction*: εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῆς; "to what end this *waste*?" For it was incapable of further use.

In exact agreement with the above is the use of the same family of words in the Septuagint. But the agreement makes quotation needless.

The central meaning underlying the various uses of the words before us is now quite evident. They denote **UTTER AND HOPELESS RUIN**; but they convey no idea whether the ruined object ceases to exist or continues a worthless existence.

The word is therefore appropriately used for the *lost* coin; for, although still existing somewhere uninjured, the owner's purposes with regard to it were utterly thwarted, to her it was absolutely useless. So were the wine-skins in reference to their original purpose; for we must suppose them to have been injured beyond repair. The same word is appropriately used of Ulysses' companions and ship *lost* at sea; for to him they were virtually non-existent. It may be used as a familiar synonym of death, *e.g.* of the martyr Zacharias, even by those who look for a life beyond the grave; because from the common point of view of bodily life on earth death is utter ruin. Similarly, we speak even of good men as *lost* at sea, and of a man putting an "end to his existence." It may be used, as we have seen in the quotations from Polybius and Plutarch, for complete demoralisation, without thought of the death of the demoralised one. For demoralisation is utter ruin of all that which gives real worth to manhood. It may be used for the absolute extinction of consciousness. But in this case the kind of destruction referred to must be, as in the quotations from Plato, clearly indicated in the context. Taken by itself, the family of words denotes simply utter and hopeless ruin of any kind. It says nothing whatever about what becomes of the ruined object.

It is however right to say that these words do not in themselves necessarily assert a ruin incapable of reversal; for the *lost* sheep and coin were afterwards *found*. And men on earth are spoken of as "the *lost* sheep of the house of Israel;" but "the Son of man came to *seek* and to *save* the *lost*." Whether the New Testament holds out any

hope of ultimate salvation for those on whom at the last day destruction will fall, is matter for further inquiry. The word *destruction*, though not in itself excluding, leaves out of view all such hope.

This family of words, bearing in classic and later Greek, in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, the meaning expounded above, is used by St. Paul and other sacred writers to describe the punishment which, at the coming of Christ, will befall those who reject the Gospel. So we read in 1 Thessalonians v. 3: "When they say, Peace and safety, then comes upon them sudden *destruction*; . . . and they shall not escape."

In another connexion these words might mean unexpected and quick death. They cannot do so here. For, although death is the common lot of good and bad, St. Paul repudiates, in 1 Corinthians xv. 18, the idea that the dead servants of Christ *have been destroyed*. Moreover the destruction threatened in 1 Thessalonians v. 3, 2 Thessalonians i. 9 must be much more than the common lot of all men. It can be no less than a supernatural infliction of utter and hopeless ruin. The word means neither extinction of consciousness nor endless conscious torments, but simply the loss of all that makes existence worth having. But either extinction or endless torment might properly be described as *destruction*; for each of these is complete failure to attain the true aim of life.

We need not be surprised that this destruction is said to be inflicted at the last day. In a correct sense, the unsaved are already *lost*; for they cannot possibly save themselves. So Matthew xv. 24. But they are within reach of the salvation offered in the Gospel. Now the coming of Christ will close the Gospel dispensation. It will therefore remove the unsaved from the salvation promised in the Gospel, and in this sense be their destruction. The tremendous reality of this destruction, and therefore the appropriate-

ness of the word here used to describe it, will become still more evident as we proceed with our investigation.

In 2 Thessalonians i. 9 the same substantive is further defined by an all-important adjective: "They who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, shall pay penalty, viz. *eternal destruction* (ὀλεθρον αἰώνιον) from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of His might." The use and significance of this adjective demand now our best attention.

The meaning of the word αἰών is well given by Aristotle, *About Heaven*, bk. i. 9: "The limit (τὸ τέλος) which embraces the time of each one's life, outside of which there is nothing by nature, is called each one's αἰών. In the same way the limit of the whole heaven, and the limit embracing the whole time and infinity, is αἰών, taking its name from αἰεὶ εἶναι." This double use is found in all Greek literature. In other words, αἰών means primarily a man's lifetime, or human life in the aspect of time. It was then felt that there is a life longer than that of an individual, that the realm of things around has its time, and with lapse of time will or may pass away. But in all cases the idea of time is more or less conspicuous.

In these two closely related senses the same Greek word is used in the Septuagint as a very frequent rendering of a Hebrew word of similar significance. So in Exodus xxi. 6, Deuteronomy xv. 17, in reference to a slave who refused to leave his master's house, we read, "He shall serve him *for ever*," i.e. *for life*: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Not unfrequently it denotes a long period whose beginning is lost in the dim distance of the past. So in Genesis vi. 4, in reference to men before the flood, "The same were the mighty men which were *of old*": οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος. Also Isaiah lxiii. 9, in reference to Israel in the wilderness, "He bare them, and carried them all the days *of old*," or "the days *of eternity*:" τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος. In verse 11 the same Hebrew phrase is rendered

ἡμερῶν αἰωνίων. In Amos ix. 11 we find the phrase again : "I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." So Micah vii. 14. Of future time we read in Isaiah xxxii. 14, "The hill and the watchtower shall be for dens for ever (ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος), a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks." But that this does not refer to endless desolation is proved by the words following: "Until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest." God promised to David in 2 Samuel vii. 16: "Thy house and thy kingdom shall be made sure *for ever* before thee: thy throne shall be established *for ever*." In this last passage the same Hebrew phrase is rendered, first ἕως αἰῶνος, and then εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. So Ecclesiastes i. 4: "One generation goeth, and another generation cometh; and the earth abideth for ever:" εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Very emphatic is the use of a phrase similar to, but stronger than, this last in Daniel ii. 44: "The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which *for ever* shall not be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand *for ever*:" εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, twice.

In the New Testament we frequently meet the contrast of *this age* and *the coming age*. The former denotes the present order of things from the point of view of its duration; the latter points to a new order of things which the coming of Christ will bring in. So Ephesians i. 21: "Not only *in this age*, but also in that which is to be." Also Luke xx. 34, 35: "The sons of *this age*; . . . they who have been counted worthy of *that age*." And 1 Corinthians i. 20, ii. 6, 8: "The disputant . . . the wisdom, . . . the rulers of *this age*." In a few passages the same word denotes past time. So John ix. 32: "*Since the world began* (ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος) it was never heard that any one opened the eyes of a man born blind." And Acts iii. 21:

"Which God spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began : " ἀπ' αἰῶνος. Similarly chapter xv. 18. So in 1 Corinthians ii. 7 we are told that *before the ages* (πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων) *i.e.* before the long periods known as ages began, God formed His all-wise purpose of salvation. It was therefore "the purpose of *the ages* : " Ephesians iii. 11. But it was "hidden *from the ages* : " Ephesians iii. 9, Colossians i. 26.

Most frequently the word is used in reference to the future, especially in the phrase, already used by the LXX., *for the age*, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; or in the superlative phrase *for the ages of the ages*, which we may understand to be ages whose moments are ages, *i.e.* reaching the ultimate limits of human thought.

Corresponding with the substantive αἰών is the adjective αἰώνιος. And with the latter as with the former the idea of duration is always associated. We naturally expect to find in the one the same variety of meaning we have already found in the other. If so, we might render it in the one case *lifelong*, in the other *agelong* or *agelasting*, of time past or future; *i.e.* lasting as long as the man lives to whom it pertains, or as long as the order of things to which it belongs.

In classic Greek the adjective is very rare. Plato in his *Laws*, p. 904 *a*, speaks of soul and body as being indestructible, but not *eternal* : ἀνώλεθρον, . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον. This implies that the latter is the stronger word. In his *Republic*, p. 363 *d*, he says that some men "count the best reward of virtue to be *eternal* revelry."

In the Septuagint the word occurs more than a hundred times. In Job xli. 4 God asks touching leviathan, "Will he make a covenant with thee, that thou shouldest take him for an *eternal* (*i.e.* a *lifelong*) servant?" This corresponds with the common classic meaning of αἰών. In Psalm xxiv. 7, 9 it seems to describe the ancient gates

of Jerusalem. In Psalm lxxvii. 5 we read, "I have considered the ancient days, and have remembered the years of old:" ἔρη αἰώνια. Similarly in Isaiah lviii. 12 we read, "Thy ancient (αἰώνια) ruins shall be built;" i.e. walls which for long ages had lain in ruins. So chapter lxi. 4: "They shall build the *age-lasting* ruins, they shall raise the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations." These passages correspond with another use of αἰών, viz. to describe a period beginning in the forgotten past. On the other hand, in Genesis ix. 16, God speaks of an *eternal* covenant between Himself and Noah. In chapter xvii. 8, God promises to Abraham "all the land of Canaan for an *eternal* possession." The various Levitical ordinances are often called an "*eternal* statute:" so Leviticus vi. 18, 22, vii. 24, 26. In Daniel iii. 33 (LXX.) Nebuchadnezzar says of God, "His kingdom is an *eternal* kingdom, and His authority for generation and generation:" so chap. iv. 31, vii. 14, 27. In all cases the conspicuous idea is that of time reaching backwards or forwards to the speaker's mental horizon.

We now pass to the New Testament. In Titus i. 2, we read that before *eternal* ages God promised *eternal* life: πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων. These promises must have been made in time. Consequently, the adjective before us describes here not limitless, but long, periods of time past. Similarly, in Romans xvi. 25, we find the same phrase, *eternal times*, describing a period during which the mystery of the Gospel was kept secret. In 2 Timothy i. 9, we read of grace given to us in Christ Jesus *before eternal times*: same words as in Titus i. 2. In Jude 7, Sodom and Gomorrah are said to lie before us as "a pattern, suffering the punishment of *eternal* fire." The word appropriately describes the long ages during which the cities of the plain, destroyed by fire, had lain conspicuously desolate.

Elsewhere the word *αἰώνιος* refers to the future. Out of seventy times in which it is used in the New Testament, it is found forty-three times in the phrase *eternal life*. It describes the reward of the righteous also in Luke xvi. 9, "the *eternal* tents;" 2 Corinthians iv. 17, "an *eternal* weight of glory;" chapter v. 1, "a house *eternal*, in the heavens;" 2 Timothy ii. 10, 1 Peter v. 10, "*eternal* glory;" Hebrews v. 9, "*eternal* salvation;" ix. 12, "*eternal* redemption;" verse 15, *eternal* inheritance; 2 Peter i. 11, "*eternal* kingdom." We have also in Revelation xiv. 6 "an *eternal* Gospel;" in Hebrews xiii. 20, "the *eternal* covenant;" in 2 Thessalonians ii. 16, "*eternal* encouragement;" and in 2 Corinthians iv. 18, "the things which are not seen" are said to be *eternal*. In Hebrews ix. 14, we read of "*eternal* spirit;" in 1 Timothy vi. 16, "*eternal* light;" and in Romans xvi. 26 of "the *eternal* God."

In Philemon 15, Paul writes: "For perhaps for this reason he was separated from thee for a season (literally, for an hour) that thou shouldest have him *for ever*." He means that in heaven Onesimus will be an abiding enrichment to Philemon. The contrast with *πρὸς ὥραν* makes conspicuous here, as in 2 Corinthians iv. 18, the idea of long duration involved in *αἰώνιον*.

The same word describes the fate of the lost in Hebrews vi. 2, "*eternal* judgment" or sentence; Matthew xviii. 8, xxv. 41, "the *eternal* fire;" chapter xxv. 46, "*eternal* punishment;" Mark iii. 29, "*eternal* sin;" and in 2 Thessalonians i. 9, the passage now before us.

The word is not used elsewhere in the New Testament.

In view of this varied yet harmonious use of the word *αἰώνιος*, we now ask what ideas it adds in this last passage to those already conveyed by the words "destruction from the presence of the Lord." Already we have seen that these solemn words assert utter and hopeless ruin caused apparently by banishment from the presence of Him whose

smile is life. This ruin is now said to be *eternal*, i.e. either *lifelong* or *agelasting*. If we take the latter rendering, the word asserts that the threatened "destruction" will continue as long as continues the age which the coming of Christ will inaugurate. And of that age we know not how to conceive an end. If the former rendering, the ruin will continue as long as shall continue the mode of existence into which at the voice of the Son of man,¹ the wicked will awake. It will be "*eternal* shame:" *αἰσχὺν αἰώνιος*.² But we must remember that in the Bible the future state of the lost is never called *life*. It is the Second Death. In either case the word *eternal* suggests very strongly the idea of finality. Certainly, the words before us leave altogether out of sight all hope of restoration. Is not this an understatement of the case? It seems to me that these words exclude from the writer's thought all hope for those here said to be eternally lost.

We wait to see whether this inference is confirmed or modified by other teaching of the great Apostle.

Another passage from one of the later Epistles of St. Paul sheds so much light on the phrase we have just been endeavouring to understand, that I cannot delay a reference to it. In Philippians iii. 19, touching some who are called "the enemies of the cross of Christ," we read the awful declaration, "whose end is destruction." Similarly, of some who are called ministers of Satan we read, in 2 Corinthians xi. 15, "whose end shall be according to their works," i.e. manifestly a bad end.

The word *τέλος*, here translated *end*, denotes in classic Greek much more than mere cessation. It is the attainment of a goal, the full outworking of all inherent tendencies. So we say "end and aim." This meaning becomes very conspicuous in some of its derivatives: e.g.

¹ John v. 29.

² Daniel xii. 2.

τέλειος, meaning *perfect* or *full-grown*; τελειόω, to *fulfil* purposes or promises or commands. And it gives great force to such passages as Romans vi. 21, "the *end* (*i.e.* full outworking) of those things is death." But this fuller meaning includes always the idea of finality. And the word is sometimes used in the simple sense of cessation. So Luke i. 33: "He shall reign over the house of Jacob *for ever*, and of His kingdom there shall be no *end*:" εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας . . . οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. And Mark iii. 26: "It cannot stand, but has an *end*:" τέλος ἔχει. So far as I have noticed, the word τέλος never leaves room for subsequent reversal.

St. Paul writes with tears, "whose *end* is destruction." But if for the ruined ones there were final restoration, even after long ages of ruin, these ages of darkness would roll by, and give place to sunshine and life. That sunshine, we must believe, would know no sunset or cloud. And as age succeeds age of increasing glory, the ages of darkness would dwindle into insignificance as a dim and fading memory of a retreating past. Of such happy spirits none could say that their *end* was destruction or was according to their bad works. To them destruction would be not an *end*, but a dark pathway into eternal light. The *end* of all men, good and bad, would be the same; *viz.* eternal life.

In other words, if St. Paul had had any idea whatever that all men will at last be saved, he could never have written the words which indisputably he has written. And this subsequent declaration strongly confirms our interpretation of 2 Thessalonians ii. 9. It almost compels us to believe that St. Paul added to the word *destruction* the adjective *eternal*, in order to mark as final the ruin of those who, in the day of vengeance, shall be banished from the presence of the great Judge.

Such is the result of our first study. We have found

three conspicuous passages in which St. Paul asserts, or at least seems to assert, that the future punishment of sin will be ruin, utter and hopeless and final. In our next paper we shall consider other passages in which the great Apostle speaks of a universal purpose of salvation.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

*THE TWENTY-SIXTH AND TWENTY-EIGHTH
PSALMS.*

THE 26th and the 28th are twin-psalms, and reflect light upon each other. You might imagine that in the first verse of the former the Church, which is the speaker, says more than it can justify, and that its rash self-confidence will sustain a fall. For there are two kinds of self-confidence. One belongs to the man who says that he can do without God, because in the depths of his nature there are inexhaustible springs of strength and happiness; another to him who says, "I trust in the Lord without wavering," without having learned in the school of the Holy Spirit what this rare experience means. To do the psalmist—that is, the Jewish Church—justice, we want to see how his profession wore. The 28th Psalm may enable us to do so. Anxious as the times were in which the 26th Psalm was written, a deepening gloom is manifest at the first glance in the 28th. If the Church's confidence is still maintained, it will be a proof that the words of Psalm xxvi. 1 are no exaggeration. But before we lovingly examine the expressions of the 28th Psalm—expressions which are as much a historical document as any chronicle could be,—let us seek to realize the situation portrayed in the earlier psalm. In vers. 9 and 10 we read,

*"Take not away my soul with sinners,
Nor my life with men of blood :
In whose hands is mischief,
And their right hand is full of bribes."*

Certainly these words were not written under a summer sky ; storm and tempest were coming up from the horizon. The psalmist lived during one of the darker parts of the period between Ezra and the Maccabees.¹ He and his fellow believers were surrounded by openly ungodly men, partly, as other kindred psalms show, foreign tyrants (for the Persians were not always kind to their Jewish subjects), partly traitorous Israelites, not less tyrannical than the Persians, whose hands were stained with the blood of their innocent victims. These false Jews, as we can see from vers. 5 and 6, had given up the habit of worshipping the true God in the temple, and met together in "congregations" of their own, not for worship, but to plan fresh outrages on the defenceless servants of Jehovah. Ver. 4 further mentions "dissemblers" or hypocrites, who would fain have been admitted to the confidence of the righteous, but whose treacherous wiles were seen through by the sharp-sighted psalmist. The Church has full confidence in the just judgment of God, which, though as yet delayed, will surely be "revealed from heaven against all ungodliness." "Take not away my soul with sinners," she cries, "when thou comest." But when Psalm xxviii. was composed, the peril of true believers had become still greater ; and unless the Divine Judge soon appears, the true Israel will become (so the first verse declares) "*like those that have gone down into the pit.*" Bitter imprecations force their way to the lips of these much-tried saints. Not content with praying to be set on the right hand of the Judge,

¹ The "anointed" spoken of in Ps. xxviii. 8 is probably the high priest. Cf. Lev. iv. 3, 5.

they assume the character of His assessors, and call for the immediate punishment of the evil-doers.

*"Give them according to their work,
And according to the evil of their doings :
Give them after the operation of their hands ;
Render to them their deserts."*

Dare we praise—can we blame them? Our Lord has said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged," and in their overwrought feelings these Jewish Churchmen both judged and condemned. And yet had they not a strong excuse? Here and there, outside the land of Israel, a true though faint light may have shone from heaven; but such heathen as the Jews at this time knew were offenders against the primal laws of morality, while their Jewish helpers were alike untrue to their nationality and their religion. And if we survey the scene from the point of view of history, is it not plain that, had the effort to crush Israel been successful, the prophecies of salvation could not, humanly speaking, have been fulfilled, and the Christ could not have come? The nobler Israelites had more than a dim perception of this. They were aware of the spiritual mission entrusted to them; "who," they said to Jehovah, "will give thee thanks in the pit" (*i.e.* in Hades)? Can we wonder then, that, as the darkness closed about them, they became dismayed, alike for Israel (for they were patriots¹) and for the deposit of true religion of which Israel was the shrine?

And yet true believers, true Churchmen, however dismayed, were not entirely without hope. They still ventured to call Jehovah "my rock," "my stronghold," "my shield," some of those consecrated symbolic words which abound in the psalms, and which imply so firm a faith in the invisible. By addressing God thus under such circumstances, they fully justified the claim which they had shortly before advanced, of "trusting in Jehovah without wavering"; and

¹ In the sense in which Nehemiah was a patriot (Neh. ii. 3).

the more we study the 28th Psalm, the more we shall be convinced that the professions of its fellow psalm were but the literal statement of inward spiritual facts.

But some one may ask, Would not the psalm be more perfect without any claims or professions at all? To God the very secrets of the heart are all open. True, but the essence of prayer is free communion with God: "Pour out your heart before him." Prayer is not merely asking for things; it is the converse of friend with Friend. And since we cannot but examine ourselves whether we have been faithful to our covenant with God, why should we be hindered from telling Him how, as we think, we stand with Him? "If our heart condemn us not," then, as St. John says, "we have confidence toward God";¹ and if our heart condemn us, then, I suppose, the natural thing is to tell God of this, and to appeal to the provision made in the covenant for our cleansing from all unrighteousness. The condensed and purified extract of the devotions of the Latin Church supplied in the collects is by no means without appeals to the comparative purity of the Church's conscience. I willingly admit that these appeals display a more developed spirituality than is found in Psalms xxvi. and xxviii. It is plain that those who wrote the collects laid somewhat more stress on the general tone of the character than on the particular details of practice. And accordingly Christians trained in their school may find it hard to sympathise with negative statements like those in vers. 4 and 5 of Psalm xxvi.; even positive statements they will probably make with much reluctance, a conscience sharpened by the Spirit of Christ being naturally predisposed to humble confessions of failure. Still a Christian who reads the Bible historically as well as devotionally may admire the first part of Psalm xxvi. for its childlike simplicity. And though the views of duty opened by nineteen

¹ 1 John iii. 21.

Christian centuries may be deeper than those of the psalmist, yet we have not outgrown, and never shall outgrow, the need of a child-like spirit. A too introspective religion would not be conducive either to our growth in grace or to the success of our work; but never to examine ourselves as to our performance of particular duties would show that we were careless of the approval of our Father, and forgetful of the solemn condition attached to Christ's parting promise, "*If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you.*"¹

But let us give some attention to the details of the child-like professions of the psalmist. The same Holy Spirit who taught the apostles taught him; and, making due allowance for different circumstances, the words which the psalmist wrote for the Jewish Church cannot be without a message for the Christian. "*I walk still in my integrity,*" he says. It is no trifle for any one to be able to say this when Providence seems to be on the side of the ungodly. "*Dost thou still retain thine integrity?*"² said Job's wife to him when an awful disease—the type of sin—came upon that model of ancient virtue. And even now the tempter puts this question to many a struggling Christian in the vortex of modern life. Is it not worth while to learn how a Jewish saint resisted such a temptation? Now read the second half of the first verse, "*I trust in Jehovah without wavering.*" This means, I am sure, that (in the words of the collect) they who do lean only upon the hope of God's heavenly grace will (in ways unknown to man) evermore be defended by His mighty power.³

The next profession of the psalmist is equally suitable for an earnest Christian.

*"For thy lovingkindness is ever before my eyes ;
And I have walked in thy truthfulness."*

¹ John xv. 7.

² Job ii. 9.

³ Collect for fifth Sunday after Epiphany.

"Thy lovingkindness"; he might simply have said, "Thou, O God." For of course he means the same thing as another psalmist who declares, "I have set Jehovah always before me."¹ But he wishes to convey a deep lesson to the Church. Would there be any comfort in directing our thoughts continually towards God unless we had learned with St. John, and with the psalmist, that God is Love? We studied the meaning of God's lovingkindness not long since, and saw that it had reference to the gracious covenant, given with a view to man's salvation, and known, however imperfectly, even to the Jewish Church. To have God's lovingkindness² ever before one's eyes is to look to Him alone for all blessings, both temporal and spiritual, for food, for shelter, for guidance, for moral instruction, and, most important of all to frail and tempted man, for conversion and forgiveness. And which conception of God is dearest to the psalmist after that of His lovingkindness? His truthfulness.³ The two expressions are almost synonymous; they represent different aspects of the same attribute: God loves us, and being ever true to Himself, He is truthful or faithful to us, that is, to His covenant for our salvation. And so that beautiful little anthem which we call Psalm cxvii. says,—

"O praise Jehovah, all ye nations;

Laud him, all ye peoples.

For his lovingkindness is mighty over us,

And the truthfulness of Jehovah endureth for ever."

The thought of Him who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever" may well exercise a transforming influence on the heart, and form, as it were, a spiritual atmosphere, in which the believer can walk, unhurt by the poisonous

¹ Ps. xvi. 8.

² St. Augustine, misled by the *misericordia* of the Vulgate, sees an allusion to the narrow escape of the sinner from the consuming fire.

³ See Exod. xxxiv. 6 (cf. Num. xiv. 18), where the proclamation of the Divine name includes the title, "rich in lovingkindness and truthfulness" (or, truth).

vapours around him. "I have walked," says the psalmist, "in thy truthfulness." And if the believer distrusts his own ability to do this, then let him say with another psalmist, "Guide me in thy truthfulness, and teach me";¹ and again, "Send forth thy light and thy truthfulness, that they may lead me."²

Next come the negative professions :

*"I have not sat with vain (i.e. good-for nothing) persons ;
Neither have I fellowship with dissemblers.
I hate the congregation of evil-doers,
Neither will I sit with the wicked."*

We can hardly imagine a Christian putting these matters into the foreground of his prayer, at least in ordinary circumstances. But take the case of a recent convert from heathenism in Africa, exposed to danger from persecution. How natural it would be for him to adopt the language of our psalmist, or to say, in the words of the 16th psalm,—

*"As for the saints that are in the land,
And thy noble ones, all my delight is in them" !*

For when all around tempts a man to palter with his conscience, and a false god is enthroned in the place of Jehovah, the only safety, unless duty compels us to be aggressive, is in fleeing from occasions of unfaithfulness. A man's company becomes in such circumstances the test of his piety. And this is why in the first psalm, written while there was still great danger to the Church from heathenism, we read,—

*"Happy is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of
the wicked,*

*Nor stood in the way of sinners,
And hath not sat in the seat of the scornful ;
But his delight is in the law of Jehovah,
And on his law doth he meditate day and night."*

¹ Ps. xxv. 5.

² Ps. xliii. 3.

Plainly, this passage contains a more balanced description of a righteous character than the 26th psalm. The good man withdraws from the company of scoffers and unbelievers to delight himself in the inspired teaching of the Scriptures. But though the 26th Psalm does not express an antithesis to sitting with the vain and the ungodly, the context enables us to supply one for ourselves. This is how the psalmist continues,—

*"I wash mine hands in innocency ;
And (so) would I compass thine altar, Jehovah :
That I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving,
And tell out all thy wonders."*

He longs to take part one day in a great religious procession, such as we find described in the 68th Psalm—a procession enlivened with happy songs of thanksgiving to a Saviour-God. In short, he gives up the "congregation of evil-doers" for a far better society—that of his fellow worshippers in the temple, and, above all, of the gracious God, who in some sense dwells there.

*"Jehovah (he says), I love the habitation of thy house,
And the place where thy glory dwelleth."*

For the temple is now the sacramental sign of Jehovah's presence. Between the exalted idealism to which some of the prophets inclined, and according to which temple and sacrifices were alike unworthy of Jehovah, and the inherited superstition of a literal Divine inhabiting of the sanctuary on Mount Zion, a compromise, more suitable than either belief to the wants of ordinary Jewish nature, was suggested to the leaders of the Jewish Church. It is beautifully expressed in a passage in the first book of Kings,—

"But will God in very deed dwell on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded! Yet . . . hearken thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy

people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place : yea, hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place : and when thou hearest, forgive." ¹

Our psalmist fully believes this ; namely, that if he prays (to use an expression in the 28th Psalm) "towards the innermost part of the sanctuary," ² i.e. towards the most holy place, his prayer will assuredly be answered. And see, his simple faith in God's appointed sign is rewarded. His recent crushing anxiety gives place to a joyous faith in the tendance of His people by the Good Shepherd.³

"Blessed be Jehovah !

For he has heard the voice of my supplication.

Jehovah is my stronghold and my shield ;

My heart trusted in him, and I was helped :

Therefore my heart danceth for joy,

And with my song will I praise him."

This is how he speaks in the 28th psalm. In the 26th he is calmer, but not less confident. "*My foot standeth on even ground,*" he says ; that is, after stumbling along on the rough paths of affliction, I can walk at ease in a "wealthy place" ; and he adds,—

"In the assemblies (or choirs) will I bless Jehovah" :

for his joys and sorrows are those of the Church, and as he complained and lamented with his brethren, so with them he will sing and give thanks.

There is still one of the psalmist's professions to be studied. I have already quoted the striking symbolic words, "*I wash mine hands*" (he says) "*in innocency*" (Ps. xxvi. 6). How impossible it is to do without primitive forms of expression ! The ceremonial washings of heathenism were supposed to have an inherent power to purify from sin. Nowhere are they more prevalent than in Japan, where Shintoism has the unique peculiarity of substituting such

¹ 1 Kings viii. 27-30.

² Ps. xxviii. 2 ; cf. v. 7.

³ See Ps. xxviii. 9.

lustrations for sacrificial offerings. Japan, then, may at least help us to realize the force of this passage. When a Shinto worshipper approaches the shrine, he dips, we are told, with a bamboo cup, enough water to pour over his hands and cleanse his mouth, and having done this, ventures to ascend the steps and make his petition. Ancient Palestine too was no stranger to these rites. The Gospel narratives show us that ceremonial washings, or baptisms, as they are called,¹ assumed a great importance in the time of Christ, but were performed in a formalistic spirit. There is no trace of such formalism however in the inspired psalmist. To him lustrations have no more inherent power of moral cleansing than sacrifices had according to the 50th and 51st psalms. If notwithstanding he performs them, he will take good care not to miss the thing signified: he will wash his hands in innocency; that is, he will keep them free from sins—from the heinous sins referred to in Psalm xxvi. 9, 10. An easy thing, perhaps you will say, for the persecuted Jews; for sins of violence belong to the oppressors and not to the oppressed. True; but remember that the speaker is virtually the Jewish people, which was not always either “clean of hands” or “pure of heart.” Not only its greatest king (David), but its most prominent and religious citizens, had been guilty of the sin of murder,² which to pious Israelites seemed to pollute their land with an indelible stain.

“Deliver me from blood-guiltiness (says the Church in the 51st psalm), Jehovah my Saviour-God;

And my tongue shall sing of Thy righteousness.”

It was no small thing that Israel had now purged itself from this awful guilt, and could describe its religious ideal in the searching catechism (Ps. xxiv. 3, 4), which we studied last month, and which contradicts so emphatically

¹ See the Greek of Mark vii. 4, Heb. ix. 10.

² Cf. Isa. i. 15, lix. 3; Mic. iii. 10; Ps. v. 6, etc.

the antique heathen conception of what a recent writer has called "practical religion."¹

And is there not a special fitness in the mention of this symbolic washing just before the psalmist's longing to take part in a solemn Church rite? Many of us have doubtless heard of the great Mysteries at Eleusis, which were the most sacred part of the Greek religion, and in the most spiritual minds produced something like what we are accustomed to call sanctification. These Mysteries opened with a proclamation that murderers and other impious persons should depart, and with solemn lustrations performed by the devout who remained. I mention these purifications here, because the Mysteries were in a certain sense a great Church rite, and analogous therefore to the procession longed for by the psalmist. This ancient Israelite felt, like the noblest of the Greeks, that without inward purity it was presumptuous to join the band of the initiated. To sing Jehovah's praises was in his view an action equal in dignity to the offering of sacrifice; nay, it was better than hecatombs of oxen, for, as Jehovah says in another psalm,

"Thinkest thou that I will eat bulls' flesh,

And drink the blood of goats?

Offer unto God thanksgiving,

*And pay thy vows unto the most Highest."*²

What a serious preparation then ought to precede this solemn act! White robes are given in the vision of the

¹ Mr. Grant Allen, in the article which bears this title (*Fortnightly Review*, Dec., 1889), takes no account of the regeneration of the religious sentiment by Christ and His forerunners. Ps. xxiv. 3, 4 does not stand alone. Comp. Ps. xv. and lxxiii., where "Israel" is synonymously parallel to "the pure in heart." The view of these passages and of Ps. li. given above may seem to conflict with a striking paragraph in Dean Church's argument in favour of the Divine guidance of the Israelites (see his *Lectures on the Psalms*). It does conflict with the letter, but not with the spirit of that paragraph. The Dean writes as if the Psalms were all of one very early period, or as if the moral character of the Israelites had no phases to pass through. The Psalms equally prove the Divine guidance of Israel when studied upon different critical principles.

² Ps. l. 13, 14, Prayer-Book Version.

Apocalypse to those who sing the great hymn of salvation.¹ And so the psalmist will wash his hands in innocency, not once only, but continually, before taking part in the Church's ritual of solemn thanksgiving. Must we not apply this to ourselves? All healthy Christian churches follow that of Israel in the prominence which they give to praise, and their children should take the psalmist's lesson to their heart of hearts. And if the Jewish Church in the 26th Psalm looks forward to a day of solemn rejoicing, when its deadly enemies shall have been crushed, have not all truly living members of the Christian Church in England an equal longing for a great future thanksgiving-day? For our Church too is surrounded by enemies. That which we value more than life is trampled under foot by thousands of our fellow countrymen. The ignorant and the vicious are as truly, however unconsciously, our enemies as those persecutors were the enemies of the Jewish Church. Only we do not, like the psalmist, call down God's judgment upon those who are without. We have learned from Christ to despair of no one. The destruction we pray for is not that of sinners, but of sin. We have to add much in thought even to the more missionary psalms to make them full expressions of our spiritual aims. Let us see to it however that we fall not behind the Jewish Church in our zeal for personal purity. It is true that we cannot, strictly speaking, purify ourselves. The initial act of purification is Christ's. But for those who are justified by faith there still remains a long and earnest process to be carried out in the power of that baptism—the daily subjugation of the flesh, the daily striving onwards and upwards, the daily endeavour to walk in the blessed steps of His most holy life. A Church whose members so purified themselves could not have long to wait for the happy completion of its home-missionary work, and would

¹ Rev. vii. 9.

be able to devote itself without distraction to the ever-broadening task of the conquest of the world for God. Blessed is he that followeth after purity, not merely for his personal salvation, but for the share that is given him in the travail of Christ's soul.

T. K. CHEYNE.

*OUR LORD'S FIRST APPEARANCE AT THE
FEAST OF TABERNACLES.*

(JOHN VII. 11-29.)

IN the record which St. John has preserved of our Lord's public teachings at Jerusalem we find scarcely any of His long or connected discourses, but rather such conversational discussions as serve to bring out His relations to the several parties into which the people were divided. It is a report of free and casual talk which the fourth gospel gives us, not a reproduction of formal instruction. The object is, not so much to tell us what Jesus preached, as to let us see how Jesus' preaching told on this or that section of His countrymen—how they received it, and what they did in consequence of it. In this way the evangelist works out, with something like dramatic skill, the steps of that tremendous tragedy. With sustained though simple power the development of Jewish enmity is traced, and the deepening of the plot around the Christ. Each incident helps on the action; priests and people, friend and traitor, Caiaphas and Nicodemus, all play their several parts before us, till in Pilate's hall and on Golgotha the interest culminates and the tragedy is consummated.

In the passage now before us, the purpose of the evangelist seems to be to bring out the relation of parties to Jesus at the opening of a new chapter in the history, and to do

this in connexion with the impression made by His sudden appearance in the temple during the week of the Feast of Tabernacles. For this end, he first prepares us by disclosing in what state of mind different sections of the festival crowd expected our Lord's arrival. Then, bringing the Lord abruptly on the scene, he relates, not His opening address itself, but some conversation which grew out of it with two classes of His audience in the hearing of the rest. Following this order, we have to inquire into the elements of which that throng of holiday-keepers was composed which filled the temple courts, when suddenly the Prophet of Galilee broke into the midst of them.

1. Foremost in influence, though smallest in numbers, was that faction of official men whom St. John, himself a Galilæan, constantly calls "the Judæans" or "the Jews." As if the bigotry and fanatical orthodoxy which distinguished the metropolitan province from the ruder north had been in them concentrated, he gives them as a party this somewhat vague name. They are to be distinguished both from "the people," or the crowd of miscellaneous pilgrims, and from the citizens, or the general population of Jerusalem. So far as can be gathered, the faction of "the Jews" included a large majority of the Sanhedrim, and embraced therefore the leading rabbis and priests, both of the Sadducean and of the Pharisaic side of religious opinion. It comprised, in other words, the bulk of those whom the nation was accustomed to revere, whether for learning or office, for the sanctity of their class or the weight of their personal character. It is absolutely necessary for the understanding of our Lord's position to remember this. It is not enough to say that these men were prejudiced, dishonest, or fanatical: let it be taken into account that they represented the ancestral faith, led the nation's worship, and ruled, by a quite legitimate claim, the opinions of the people. It could be no light thing for a solitary

and unlettered provincial to array Himself against such a combination as that.

Let us mark exactly in what relation our Lord stood to this Jewish faction at the date before us. Judicially, He was as yet uncondemned. The Sanhedrim had taken no action against Him; it had not even sat in judgment upon His claims. Only the faction—composed of the very men who formed the bulk of the great council—had already taken decided action. In their individual capacity, or as members of a party, they had as good as extra-judicially condemned Him. They had made no secret of their opinion, that the cure of the Bethesda cripple months before constituted a breach of the Sabbath law, and therefore a capital offence. Ever since then they had been stirring factious opposition against Jesus, and endeavouring to entangle Him in their toils. Even now, during the first two or three days of this feast, they searched for Him among the arrivals from Galilee, and began to grow uneasy lest He should again, by absenting Himself, escape the hands of the law. Thus they were “going about to kill” Him.

2. Next, John distinguishes among the crowd (ver. 25) a number of citizens, Jerusalemites, privy to the designs of the rulers and sympathising with them. Public opinion among the populace of a small capital city like Jerusalem is always coloured very strongly by the sentiments of those in high position to whom the common people look up. No one will wonder therefore to find these ignorant citizens echoing the views of the faction, and hasty even to outrun their betters in persecuting zeal.

3. Far more numerous than either of these classes was the mixed throng of strangers from the provinces who had come to the feast. This part of the audience, disunited and undecided, John terms “the crowd,” or the multitudes (a term mistranslated in the Authorized Version “the people”). Among them there was much “murmuring,”

much underground whispering and canvassing of opinions. Some were inclined to think well of Jesus; others leant to the side of the authorities; probably the majority wavered. As circumstances seemed to favour either party, we hear now the partisans of Jesus and now His enemies loud in the assertion of their respective views. Before Jesus came to the feast, of course His enemies were in the ascendant. The Jews had it all their own way. Those in the crowd who followed the cue of the authorities were bold and open-mouthed with the party cry, "He is a deceiver of the people," an impostor playing on the credulity of the country people, and exciting vague hopes which He cannot gratify. His few well-wishers dared to say nothing better for Him than that, right or wrong, He was surely honest and earnest, "a good man": an enthusiast possibly, but, at least, no knave.

Such was the motley yet, on the whole, unpromising gathering which was at its height when "Jesus went up into the temple, and taught." Little has ever been said, so far as I know, on the eloquence of the Lord Jesus in His public discourses. But here at least this unrecorded sermon seems to have broken on that hostile audience with extraordinary effect, especially on those who were best able to appreciate—on "the Jews," I mean, the scholarly party. The secret of its effect on them one can readily surmise. The skill and insight with which He lit up old dark Scriptures, the fervour of sacred oratory with which He pressed home the truth, the majesty of His self-assertion, and the power, grander than any bestowed by human rhetoric, with which He spoke, these things, in spite of prejudice and His provincial accent, filled the circle of accomplished doctors with admiration. We see them, as His last sentences died among the corridors, look at each other, wondering and saying, "How knoweth this Man letters, having never learned?" There is more than surprise

in this criticism of the rabbis. Is there not a tinge of displeasure? The privilege of publicly expounding the Old Testament books was in their hands. They formed a learned guild, into the immunities of which no man could pass till he had "learned letters," that is to say, studied the literature which for centuries had been gathering round the sacred text. Men are so much led by unacknowledged feelings of this petty sort, that I suspect professional jealousy of an untaught layman, who had passed through no rabbinical college, but presumed, untrained and unlicensed, to trench on their monopoly, had really a good deal to do with their opposition to the Lord Jesus Christ. Yet, to do them justice, was there not at first blush some unlikelihood that a poor man without study should know what the nation's profoundest scholars had sought for centuries in vain? Undoubtedly; if the doctrine of Jesus were a fruit of research or meditation, a theory or a discovery wrung by scientific processes from data, or by the scholarly interpretation of sacred documents. Their criticism took that for granted. Thence grew the wonder. But to know God's truth one does not need to be deep in human lore. It is a learning of the heart. There are better schools for this than the school of Gamaliel. There have been Israelites in elder days who were herdmen like David and Amos, yet saw very deep into eternal truth and had eyes for the visions of God. What if this carpenter's Son has communed with Jehovah amid the silence of Nazareth's hills, and seen with the eyes of a pure heart what never yet was opened to scholarly rabbi from dusty parchments? Nay, what if this Man be right when He claims a loftier origin—be born and taught and sent of Jehovah the eternal to reveal His truth to men?

The assertion of this explanation of what surprised the doctors is, of course, the first thing we naturally find in the reply of Jesus. "*My doctrine is not Mine, not of My*

making or discovery ; if it were, it would have no worth : *but* got from above—*His who sent Me.*” Nor need it seem strange that the possession of Divine truth should be separated in His case from a purely intellectual or professional culture, since it is a possession given only to pure hearts. It hangs, in fact, on a moral, not on an intellectual condition. “He that will do the will of God, he shall know.” This axiom is at first introduced for an apologetic, it is then turned to a polemical, use. With that manysidedness of application which marks our Lord’s words, He uses this principle to defend Himself, and then directs it against the rabbis. The relation of spiritual knowledge to spiritual honesty may explain why the Holy Child was wiser than the learned ; it will also show why the learned reject the wisdom of the Child. For here are verily not one but two marvels, whereof the one is uttered in the query of the Jews ; and the other is to be understood out of it. “How (asked they) should this untaught Man from Galilee know Divine letters?” Answer : Because “He hath a will to do His Father’s will ; therefore He knoweth of the doctrine.” But how comes it to pass that learned theologians and Bible students and expounders should not know the doctrine to be Divine, even when it is plainly preached ? Answer : “Because they have no will to do the will of God.” To this second (this unasked) question, He chiefly bends His reply.

Taken in its whole extent (down to ver. 24), His demonstration covers two points. First, He lays down the principles of spiritual discernment, the conditions under which Divine truth will be recognised as Divine when spoken by a human messenger. These conditions are two : one respects the hearer of the message ; and one the speaker of it. To the recognition of God’s message, there needs (1) in the hearer, moral honesty, or a willingness to do the will of God when known ; there needs (2) in the speaker,

moral honesty again, in the form this time of absolute, unselfish devotion to the cause of Him who sent him.

First, the hearer must be willing to do the duty which arises out of the truth taught. For all new truths of God implicate also the will of God; belief of the truth issues in obedience to the will; and if I am not willing to obey, I am not able to believe. Instinctively I hate the light so long as I love the sin which the light rebukes or shun the duty which the light discovers. It cuts very deep, this; it traces back unbelief to its root. It lies in the will, the disordered, dishonest, ungodly will. Our Lord does not say, "If any man does God's will, he shall know": alas! it seldom comes the length of doing; but He says, tenderly and profoundly, "If any man wishes to do"—is seriously and honestly set on doing what God wishes—that man's moral nature has a clear single eye, capable of vision; and "he shall know the doctrine."

But, *second*, the speaker on his part must authenticate his mission from God by thorough consecration to it, and by the moral simplicity or straightforwardness which this imparts. A man who affects to have a message to me from God, yet can abuse such a claim for his own interest, for greed or pride or power, to enrich or exalt or glorify himself, that man gives me in his very life the evidence that no truth of God has really seized or mastered him. He has been sent on no errand from the Eternal. Where both conditions meet, a true speaker to true hearers, there God's truth approves itself. In the present case, there was no defect in the Speaker. This Messenger was true, without unrighteousness; He sought His Father's glory. That the defect lay with the hearers, and wherein that defect appeared, formed the second half of Jesus' unanswerable demonstration.

Proof that they were not willing to do the will of God:
"Did not Moses give you the law? so that you are not

ignorant of God's will, but have it in purest form. Had you kept or tried to keep the Law of the Ten Words, you would have known of My doctrine that it is not Mine. *But none of you keepeth the law*"; and a flagrant instance lay to hand, to which He was fast leading them. So, in His outspoken, conscience-cleaving way, He breaks out, "*Why go ye about to kill Me?*" At this point He was interrupted by some bystanders, who, being strangers, knew nothing about the plots of the faction against His life, and took these for wild and crazed words. Jesus took no notice of the interruption, because the men He was addressing knew in their own conscience what He meant. They understood Him to refer to the old affair of the Bethesda cure, at which the thought first arose in them of cutting Him off. And if they were cloaking murderous hate beneath a show of zeal for the broken Sabbath—thinking to kill judicially and with form of law—He will proceed to strip off this cloak also from them. "The Sabbath law is not broken when by priestly practice and rabbinic approval an infant of eight days old is circumcised on that day, for it yields to the higher dignity and validity of that venerable sacrament. What I have done is better still and higher than circumcision, since to betoken on the flesh of a babe the cutting off of inborn impurity is not so great a work as to restore the crippled frame of a man to soundness, and a sinful soul to God. 'I have made the man every whit whole! Why are ye angry with Me?'" Thus He has explained their unbelief, uncloaked their malice, convicted them of inconsistent and unrighteous judgment, and left them silenced, scorched, and helpless: *them*, the rulers and rabbis and great ones of the land; He, the poor, unlettered Nazarene!

As Jesus lingered in the temple, He overheard eager talk among the people. There were some there who wondered at the inaction of the official party. A knot of Jerusalem citizens, who had known how anxious the rulers

were to apprehend Jesus, heard Him braving these rulers by retorting on them a charge of intended murder, and saw Him pass unmolested through the public courts. Too rude themselves to feel the power of holy truth from holy lips, they could not understand this forbearance. "Is it possible (they began to say) that the rulers have changed their mind? Have they come to know that, after all, He is what He calls Himself, the Christ of God?" So speaking among themselves, I find a touch of mockery in the tone; only, lest any overhearing should misunderstand, they hasten to protest that they are very far from seriously thinking He can be the Christ. Let no one suspect them of heretical leanings. Nay, though even the rulers be imposed upon, they know better. This boast of superior information with which the conceited citizens carried off their contemptuous unbelief in the hearing of simple pilgrims from the country becomes positively ludicrous when we hear the rest. Among the many rumours about the Christ which, in the lack of sound scriptural knowledge, were then current in Judæa, this was one: "When Messiah comes, no man is to know whence he is"; a supernatural visitor, he will be without father or mother, appearing of a sudden in glory, none knows whence or how. On the strength of this vulgar blunder, these would-be-wise citizens rejected Jesus. They shared no doubt the usual mistake of the time, that Jesus was a Galilæan. They thought they knew whence He was: they could see plainly that He was not the Christ.

With learned conceit in the rulers Jesus had entered into argument, aiming to reach the conscience through a keen, close demonstration of their moral unfitness to be judges. With the ignorant conceit of the citizens it was in vain to argue. Jesus sought to reach them by another way. Sometimes the vulgar may be best disarmed by satire; again, where logic fails, sheer strength of testimony will often

carry conviction. Raising His voice therefore to gain a hearing over their disjointed talk, this wise winner of souls blent grave irony with sublime self-assertion in His words. They were boasting of what they knew, though blundering at every step; and Jesus lays emphasis on the word as He concedes the boast. "Yes, ye know Me, and again ye know whence I come: and yet, after all, ye do *not* know Him whom *I know*." More or less correctly, they did know from what mechanic family He was sprung after the flesh. But the higher source whence He came, His spiritual mission from the Father, they could not know, for the Father Himself they knew not. Their conceit of half-knowledge about His earthly origin blinded them to His birth from heaven. Their special ignorance of Jehovah blinded them to Jehovah's Messenger. Against their (fancied) knowledge of His mean descent and human parentage, He puts His own knowledge of the heavenly Father, and His coming forth from Him; against their light, rude, scoffing boast, His own deep, earnest testimony to Himself.

It was in vain to argue; but a simple assertion of what He felt and knew down in His own heart, delivered in touched and softened tones, might yet tell upon the crowd. "I am not come of Myself: but He that sent Me is true, whom ye know not. But I know Him, for I am from Him, and He hath sent Me." Never could lips but His own use such words; clearer, grander never fell from His. *Knowledge*, absolute, personal, unique, of the eternal God as His Father, resting on such a twofold relation to Him as this: the relation, first, of eternal fellowship past, *I am from Him*; and the relation, secondly, of special mission into the world now, *He hath sent Me*. The mysterious consciousness of Jesus stretched back into pre-existence and up into Divine relations. He remembered glory before the world was; and in His weakness of manhood could identify His Judean life with that long past existence in the solitude of

the Godhead. How far down does this permit us to see into the secret life of Jesus, the unspoken memories that filled His loneliness and linked the weary present, passed amid the contradiction of sinners, to that unforgotten and stupendous past! Within the daily burdened life which men saw, we are to detect a secret sense of Godhood, a sweet oneness with the Father retained unbroken, whereby His soul is nourished all through this desert! And the line that links the two and makes the life that now is, with all its contrasts, an intelligible continuation of His personal experience, what is it but this, "He hath sent Me"?

There is nothing here, I repeat, but assertion. It is self-witness, and nothing more. Against the anger or the arguments of men, learned and unlearned, He could still oppose at worst this invincible certainty of His own consciousness, this knowledge of which He was as sure as of existence. It was the last resource always left Him, to utter this as He does here, and fling it with the momentum of a life and death truth upon the souls of men. "I know Him: for I am come from beside Him, and He did send Me."

J. OSWALD DYKES.

MICAIAH'S VISION.

(1 KINGS xxii. 19-23.)

THE prophecy of Micaiah is an obvious instance of that method of revelation which is given in the twelfth chapter of the book of Numbers as the usual way of communication between God and the seer. "Hear now My words: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make Myself known unto him in a vision, I will speak with him in a dream." This description is borne out to the full by the language of Micaiah. It was a vision, something he *saw*—if not with waking, then with sleeping, or entranced, faculties. "I saw," he says, "the Lord sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right hand and on His left. And the Lord said, Who shall entice Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner; and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will entice him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And He said, Thou shalt entice him, and shalt prevail also: go forth, and do so. Now therefore," adds the prophet, as his own comment, "behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee."

This account, with its clearness of narration and vivid pictorial distinctness, might be taken, with all its details, as a very good example of the divinely imparted vision, but for one circumstance which, every time we read it, "must give us pause." Can we attribute to Divine revelation every detail of a vision which involves an unworthy conception of God? There is no shirking this difficulty, for it is very plain. The language of the prophet, which he declares to

be "the word of the Lord," sets God before us as the author of a lie. Honesty cannot avoid this conclusion. There is no escape from it. It will not do to say that God does not prevent evil which is caused by the wills of inferior intelligences, but uses it and overrules it for His own beneficent purposes; for this is no case of evil not prevented, it is evil enjoined. The master is responsible for what the servant does in obedience to his commands; and if the prophet represents Jehovah as commanding the services of a lying spirit, it is useless to deny that he represents Jehovah as the author of the lie which the spirit inspires. Nor if, like some interpreters, we explain the spirit as the "personified spirit of prophecy," do we improve matters in the smallest degree; for then we take away all that mediates between God and the lying prophets, and throw the whole blame of their falsehood directly upon the All-holy Himself.

But the unworthy conception of God involved in the vision goes even further. The All-wise is depicted as in a difficulty. He does not know what to do, until He seeks council of His court and hears the various opinions of the spirits who minister before Him. Contrast with this the frequent language of Scripture, "For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor?"

In all such cases it is well to remember that Holy Scripture has a *human* element as well as a *Divine* element, and that there is no advantage in throwing upon the Divine difficulties which can be explained as human. There are two intimations in Micaiah's vision which must have been divinely given, because they are such that man could not have arrived at them independently.

First. That the prophets were lying, or were under the influence of a lying spirit.

Second. That Ahab's expedition against Ramoth-gilead would end fatally for himself.

Upon these points rests the whole stress of Micaiah's

message. The remainder of the prophecy consists of imagery, which, though remarkable in itself, appears to have no other function than to convey these intimations, and which has therefore, so far as we can discover, no important prophetic purpose. It is a vehicle, and nothing more.

Now it is to be carefully noted that our difficulties arise solely from the structure of this vehicle; they have nothing to do with the two important messages conveyed. So that the whole question resolves itself into an inquiry into the source of this imagery. From whence did it come? Three sources are possible. It may have come from God, or from the prophet's waking conscious imagination, or from the involuntary working of the prophet's mind in dreaming or trance. The first of these is at once thrown out of consideration by the unworthy conception of the Divine nature which the imagery involves. The second is contrary to the whole style of the language which Micaiah uses in describing his vision, as well as to all probability. We are therefore forced back upon the third, and conclude that the imagery of the prophecy belongs to the human element and not to the Divine, and was given by the unconscious and involuntary working of the prophet's imagination during the suspension of his ordinary faculties by trance or dreaming.

And here the well-known facts of dreaming come to our aid, and not only render our conclusion more probable, but actually seem to give us, to speak with all reverence, a glimpse into the mode of co-operation between the Divine and human.

We all know from experience that when some objective fact makes an impression upon us while in a state of dreaming, the mind immediately weaves some imaginary incident or story to account for the fact. Thus the dreamer fancies he is sentry at a castle gate. Wearily he waits for the long hours of watching to go by, and with mar-

vellous distinctness he perceives everything about him, the massive walls of the fortress and every feature of the surrounding country. Suddenly there is a loud knocking at the gates below. And at that moment the dreamer awakes and discovers that it is some one knocking at his door. Or, again, he imagines he is floating on an iceberg in a polar ocean; the keen frost strikes to the very marrow of his bones, and he is about to perish, when he awakes and finds that it is a cold night, and he is insufficiently covered. In all such cases the story is created by the instinctive working of the imagination, in order to explain an objective fact which forces itself on the sleeping faculties.

Now the visions recorded in Holy Scripture contain evidence that their scenery was, sometimes at all events, intimately connected with some objective fact affecting the seer at the time; for, in St. Peter's vision recorded in the tenth of Acts, the pivot on which the imagery turns is the circumstance, so distinctly mentioned, that the apostle "became hungry, and desired to eat"; and although in this instance the objective fact was not divinely imparted, our inference remains, that the form of the prophetic vision might be more or less affected by stimuli external to the working of the imagination.

We have now in our possession all that is necessary in order to explain fully the difficulties of Micaiah's vision. According to the theory now put forth, it was miraculously imparted to the mind of the dreaming, or entranced, seer that the predictions of Zedekiah and his confederates were false, or, it may be, due to the inspiration of a lying spirit; and that the expedition against Ramoth-gilead would end fatally for Ahab. Round this objective and Divine nucleus the prophet's imagination, working according to its ordinary laws, constructed the scene which has so puzzled many a devout student, using materials which were familiar to the dreamer's experience. God appeared in the vision as the

King sitting on His throne; round Him stood His ministers, the host of heaven; and, like a human king, He consulted with one minister after another, until He obtained the advice which seemed the best. Courtly scenes such as this must have been familiar to Micaiah; for it appears from the narrative that he was well known to the king of Israel, and therefore his memory must have had good store of images needful for such a picture.

If this explanation be true, the difficulties vanish, and the prophecies, not only remain uninjured, but their Divine character shines out more clearly than ever; and the unworthy conceptions of God which so troubled us are seen to arise neither from Divine inspiration nor from the conscious thought of the prophet. They are simply the accidents of a dream.

In the present state of critical thought, it is not necessary to spend time in proving that, when man was made the medium of Divine revelation, his mind was permitted to work according to its ordinary laws. There was a time when inspiration was popularly regarded as some occult species of word for word dictation. That time has gone by. It is now universally admitted, upon every theory, that to each sacred writer was left his own peculiar style and character of expression; that is to say, the mind of each writer worked according to its own laws. If this be admitted with regard to the inspiration of the writers of Holy Scripture, there is no objection to supposing that, sometimes at all events, the minds of those to whom God revealed Himself by vision were permitted to exercise their ordinary functions. And, in the case before us, this probability is made very strong by the extreme difficulty of attributing a Divine origin to the unworthy conception of God involved in the scenery which forms the vehicle of the prophetic message. From this point of view Micaiah's vision is peculiarly interesting, for in it there exists an index

by which to discriminate between the two elements which must enter more or less into all prophecy. Here it seems the Divine and human can be separated, and the relation between them analysed with some degree of accuracy.

If this be true, an important question is raised. Can the principle be extended? Can the moral difficulties of the Old Testament and the results of psychology be used in conjunction in order to bring us nearer to the processes of revelation? The value of such a method needs no proof: for the more we define the human element in Holy Scripture, the more apparent will be the splendour of the Divine; and the stronger the evidence that the ethical obscurities which perplex us arise from man's imperfection, the greater will be our confidence in that pure truth which can only come from the perfection of God.

CHARLES F. D'ARCY.

ST. JAMES AND HIS EPISTLE.¹

"James . . . to the twelve tribes of the Dispersion."—JAS. i. 1.

THIS Epistle, although Luther stigmatized it as "an epistle of straw," has many claims on our regard, of which I will only for the present enumerate one or two.

It is the first Christian document that was given to the world, the earliest of all the New Testament Scriptures. It was probably written in less than twenty years after the crucifixion of our Lord, before any one of the Gospels which have come down to us, and even before any of the other inspired Epistles. If the New Testament were arranged in chronological order, *this* is what we should read first. And, for some reasons, it is to be regretted that

¹ A brief introduction to a set of expository lectures on the first chapter of the Epistle.

it does not stand first. For it is more like the writings of the *Old Testament* than any other contained in the New, and forms a natural and easy transition from the one to the other. To St. James the Gospel of Christ was simply the true Judaism, Judaism fulfilled and transfigured. It was the law of Moses, which St. Paul called "the law of bondage," transformed into "the law of liberty." It was the beautiful consummate flower of which the old œconomy was the bud, the perfect day of which that was the dawn.

1. The first special claim of the Epistle is, then, that it presents us with the earliest view of the truth as it is in Jesus which obtained in the Christian Church. And the second is, that it was written by that "brother of the Lord" who was the first bishop, *i.e.* the first chief pastor, of the first Christian Church, *viz.* the Church of Jerusalem. And this "James the brother of the Lord" had much, not of the mind only, but of the very manner of the Lord. That he had much of the mind of Christ we might perhaps infer from the fact that, in common with the other Apostles and apostolic men, he was inspired by the Spirit of Christ. But we are not left to inference. We have the words of Jesus, and we have the letter of James, and we may compare them for ourselves. Of all the discourses of the Lord Jesus, the Sermon on the Mount is the most characteristic and complete, that in which He most clearly laid down the laws of the kingdom He came to establish on earth. And the Epistle of St. James has been called, not without reason, "a mere commentary on the Sermon on the Mount." It handles the same practical themes. It contains many of the same turns of expression. It is pervaded by an undertone of reference to that Sermon even when it handles other themes or uses different terms. And the style of St. James is precisely that of his Divine "Brother," plain, simple, direct, pungent, and yet instinct with poetic imagination. The Sermon on the Mount con-

tains only one extended parable, that of the two builders, with which it closes; but it is full of those dramatic proverbs which are condensed parables, such as that of the salt which had lost its savour, the city set on a hill, the lamp put under a bushel or on a stand, the sun shining on the evil and the good, the rain falling on just and unjust, the trumpet sounded at the corners of the street, the two masters, the birds that build no barns, the lilies that neither toil nor spin, the mote and the beam, the pearls cast before swine, with many more. St. James abounds in similar proverbs. In the first chapter alone we have that of the wave, of the blade of grass, of sin the harlot, of the first-fruits, of the field over-run with foul and rank weeds, of the man gazing on his face in the glass. However we may account for this similarity of style, whether we attribute it to that similarity of mental gifts which often obtains among close kinsmen, or to the influence of constant intercourse and a common training, we cannot fail to be struck with it when once it has been pointed out; nor can we fail to feel that, as to the words of Christ Himself, so also to the words of James, this parabolic manner, this poetic style, lends an added grace and power.

The Epistle opens, as most of the apostolic letters open, by announcing the name of the writer and that of the person, or persons, to whom it was addressed: "*James . . . to the Dispersion.*" This was the ancient epistolary style in private as well as in public correspondence. We have many instances of it in the New Testament, as, for instance, in Acts xxiii. 26, "Claudius Lysias to the most excellent governor Felix." And though the opening sentence of St. James's letter may not sound very suggestive, it is nevertheless full of instructive matter. "James" had a history, and so had "the Dispersion"; and by his history he was marked out as the very man to write to the Jews who were scattered abroad.

James was a Jew at heart to the day of his death, though he was also a Christian Apostle. Who then so suitable as he to instruct men who, though Jews by birth and training and habit, had nevertheless embraced the Christian faith?

If we glance at his history and theirs, we shall read the whole Epistle with a deeper and more intelligent insight into its meaning.

James then (as I hold and shall assume, after a careful study of the various theories propounded about him, into which however I shall not here enter) was the son of Alphæus, otherwise called Clopas, and of his wife, the sister of the Virgin Mary.¹ James was probably their eldest son, and grew up to be a conspicuously sturdy little man. Because of his short stature he was called "*James the Little*," not, as the Greek epithet has often been rendered, "*James the Less*." Among his brothers were Simon, *i.e.* Simeon; Jude, *i.e.* Judah; Joses, *i.e.* Joseph; and Levi the publican, afterwards Matthew the Apostle. All these men were named after great Jews of the ancient time. James after Jacob,² the others after four of Jacob's sons—Levi, Joseph, Judah, and Simeon. From the names given to the children we might reasonably infer that the household of Alphæus was a strictly pious household, after the austere Hebrew type. And the inference is confirmed by what we afterwards learn of the five sons of the household. Two of them were so markedly devout after the way of their fathers, that they were called "*James the Just*" and *Joses the Just*"—"just" being the most flattering religious epithet among the

¹ Those who care to examine the controversy for themselves will find an admirable summary of it in Dean Plumptre's commentary on this Epistle, published in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools*.

² "The name of *Jacobus* or *Jacob*, after passing through various changes and changes of form, Spanish *Jago*, and Portuguese *Xayme* (pronounced *Hayme*), and Italian *Giacomo*, and French *Jacques* and *Jamè*, and Scotch *Hamish*, has at last dwindled into our monosyllabic *James*."—*Dean Plumptre*.

Jews, since they held "justice," or "righteousness," to be the very flower and crown of all virtues. Other two, Simon and Jude, were distinguished as "Zealots," and the Zealots were a faction pledged to risk their lives at any moment for the honour of the law or the freedom of their country; while the fifth, Matthew, as we learn from his Gospel, was a profound student of the Hebrew Scriptures. We may fairly conclude therefore, that the whole family was trained in the severest forms of Hebrew piety, that they walked—save Levi, indeed, during his lapse from the family "righteousness"—in all the ordinances and commandments blameless. This inference, again, is confirmed by the most ancient histories of the Church, which assure us that, not content with observing the manifold and minutest precepts of the law of Moses, they voluntarily added to these the still more austere habits of the Nazarite and the Rechabite sects, drinking no wine, eating no flesh.

But, whatever their zeal for law and tradition, they were not blind and narrow bigots, like many of their neighbours similarly trained. While they stood on the old ways, they could look for the new. Alphæus and his wife seem early to have recognised, in their nephew Jesus, the promised and long-expected Messiah. James the Little and Simon the Zealot were enrolled among the Apostles. Joses and Jude, after the resurrection at least, joined the disciples, and rose to eminence in the infant Church. But, though they became Christians, they remained Jews. They still believed in circumcision, still kept the law, still observed sabbaths, still took part in the services of the temple. This strange blending of the old with the new seems to have characterized the whole family. We find it in the Epistles of James and Jude, and in the Gospel of Matthew.

We find it most clearly of all, I think, in the history, words, writings of St. James. After the death and resurrection of Christ he became the bishop and pillar of the

Church in Jerusalem—a church which was as much Hebrew as Christian; a church which shook its head doubtfully and distrustfully when it heard that Gentiles also were being baptized; a church from which there went forth the Judaizers who dogged St. Paul's steps wherever he went, hindered or undid his work, and kindled a tumult of grief and indignation in his heart. And these Judaizers carried with them "letters of commendation" from St. James, and were for ever citing the authority of "the Lord's brethren" against that of St. Paul. Sufficient attention has not even yet been directed to the great gulf which early opened in the Christian Church, a gulf compared with which all our schisms and separations are as nothing. On the one side stood the Christian Jews of Palestine, with James and his brothers at their head; on the other side stood the Gentile Churches, with St. Paul and his colleagues at their head; while Peter is to be found now on this side and now on that. The Jewish Church held the whole law of Moses, ceremonial as well as moral, to be binding on the whole world. If they could, they would have excluded from the Church all who gave up circumcision, sabbaths, the feasts, and the worship of the temple. The Gentile Church, on the other hand, claimed the right of being Christian without becoming Jewish, of worshipping on Sunday instead of on Saturday, of obeying the law of Christ without bending under Moses' yoke. All St. James's sympathies were with the Jewish Church; and though, for the sake of peace, he compromised with Paul, and agreed that the Gentiles should be bound only by "the precepts of Noah," instead of by the statutes of Moses, it is clear that he did not think the law of Christ sufficient, or why did he insist on the precepts of Noah? It may be doubted whether he ever really approved the manly and generous course St. Paul took. It is quite certain that, to the end of his life, he was as sincerely a Jew as he was a Christian. Till he

was put to death by them, the Jews, the very Pharisees, of Jerusalem respected and honoured *him*, although they hunted many of the Christians, and especially their leaders, to prison and the grave. Writing soon after James had passed away, an ecclesiastical historian tells us that he was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine nor strong drink, and no razor ever came on his head. He alone was allowed to go into the holy place of the temple, the shrine sacred to the priests. He was so long and often on his knees that they grew hard like a camel's. When a religious crisis arose, and the Pharisees heard that many were going astray after Jesus, they came to James of all men—the brother of Jesus and the bishop of the Church!—to beg that he would recall the people from their errors, so entirely did they regard him as one of themselves. On the feast-day they placed him on the front of the temple, and adjured him to tell the multitude, since many had gone astray after Jesus, what the true way of salvation was. They were thunderstruck when he gave testimony to the Son of man as the Lord and Christ foretold by the prophets; but, as soon as they could believe for wonder, they rushed upon him, crying, "Woe! woe! Even the Just One is deceived!" They cast him down from the temple, and beat out his brains with a club.

Surely nothing in his life became him like the leaving it. His testimony to Jesus as the Christ can hardly have been very zealous, instant in season and out of season, although he sincerely believed in Him, if the Pharisees regarded him as one of themselves, and put him forward to speak against the Son of man. The fact seems to be, that he never regarded Jesus as more than the Jewish Messiah, or the Gospel as more than the fulfilling of the law. He did not see that, when a law is fulfilled, it gives place to a higher law. But whatever the defects we may discover in St. James, it is obvious that these very defects adapted him

to be an Apostle to the Jews. Had Paul been bishop of Jerusalem, instead of James, how many months would he have lived? But James, a Jew at heart, was the very man to speak to Jews without driving them to an instant hostility. He may have quietly won many to the faith whom a man of a more generous and catholic spirit would have alienated and provoked. At least he could help to make the men of Jerusalem better Jews; and that, after all, was the most likely way to make them Christian.

2. But what sort of Jews were those to whom this letter was addressed, the Jews of "the Dispersion"? and wherein did they differ from the Jews of Jerusalem? The answer to that question is worth working out, for it throws light on many parts of the New Testament.

When the Jews returned from their captivity in, Babylon, they left behind them the great bulk of their race. Only a few poor thousands returned; hundreds of thousands preferred to remain in the lands in which they had been settled by their conquerors. As they multiplied and prospered they spread, until they were found in most of the great centres of commerce and learning in the ancient world. So too the Jews who had returned to Judæa also multiplied and grew, till the land became too strait for them. Their fathers had been farmers and wine-growers, each tilling his own acres or dressing his own vines. But the sons were compelled by their growing numbers to build cities, and to embark in manufacture and traffic. Meanwhile the great heathen empires—Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman—had thrown the whole world open to them; and of this opening they were quick to avail themselves. Their own land was crowded. In trade they felt they had found their true vocation. And hence, in the two or three centuries immediately preceding the foundation of the Church, the Jews had migrated in vast numbers. Colonies of them were to be found in many

lands, in the cities which studded the highroads of Asia Minor, in the ports of Northern Africa and Europe, and in all the most renowned seats of learning. Of course these busy merchants and eager students, living remote from Palestine, visited Jerusalem infrequently, and seldom took part in the worship of the temple; but they took their synagogues and schools with them, and clung tenaciously to the faith of their fathers.

Nevertheless it was inevitable that travel and intercourse with many men of many races should widen their thoughts. They could not encounter so many new influences without being affected by them. The influence they most commonly met, and to which they yielded most, was that of Greek thought and culture. The Greeks, under Alexander the Great, had over-run and subdued the world. When Alexander died, his empire was divided among his victorious lieutenants, who, to a certain extent, carried on his work. They founded kingdoms and dynasties; and to these kingdoms the Greeks flocked in large numbers, soon establishing themselves, as the Jews did, in all the great centres of commerce and learning. Of these foreign Greeks the foreign Jews learned much. Though they retained the faith and the Scriptures of Moses, they read them in a more philosophical and cosmopolitan spirit. They even went so far as to adopt the Greek language, a language at least as common in all civilized lands then as French was some fifty years since, as English is now or soon will be, or as Latin was among all the scholars of Europe up to a century ago. They translated their Scriptures and conducted their worship in this alien tongue. From this adoption of the Greek, or Hellenic, tongue, they were called Hellenists, or Hellenistic Jews, to distinguish them from their brethren in Palestine, who still used their ancestral tongue, at least in the worship of God. By thus throwing open the Scriptures of the Old Testament

to as many as could read Greek, the Hellenists won many of the more thoughtful and pious heathen to the Hebrew faith. These heathen converts were "the proselytes" so often mentioned in the New Testament. We can account for their numbers and influence only as we remember that the Jews of the Dispersion were to be found in all the chief cities and harbours of the world, that they mixed freely with the merchants of every land, that their schools stood side by side with those of Greece and Rome, and that their Scriptures were now, for the first time, accessible to all educated men.

Now if we picture these foreign Jews to ourselves—these "twelve tribes in the Dispersion," as St. James calls them, just as we might speak of "the greater Britain beyond the sea"—if we picture to ourselves these men, far from the land of their fathers, dwelling in busy, populous cities, where they were compelled to hold daily intercourse with men of other creeds and customs than their own, where, so to speak, a larger, freer current of air tended to disperse the mists of local or racial prejudice, we shall readily understand that they were more accessible to new ideas, and especially to any new ideas which came to them from the land of their fathers, than their brethren who remained at home, breathing the loaded atmosphere of their ancient city, into which the movements of the outside world could seldom penetrate. The *Christian* ideas, the good news that *He* was come for whom their fathers had looked, would be more impartially weighed by these Hellenized and foreign Jews than by the priests and Pharisees who dwelt under the shadow of the temple, and felt that, if Jesus should increase, they must decrease. Nor would the catholicity of the Christian faith, its appeal to men of every race, be so offensive to the tribes of the Dispersion as to the Jews of Judæa. In Judæa the Jews held every foreigner to be a stranger and an intruder, if not an enemy. In Europe, in

Africa, in the great towns and harbours of Asia Minor, the Jews themselves were foreigners, and would feel that other foreigners had no less right to be there than themselves. Among their heathen neighbours too they had found many who loathed the vices of the popular idolatries, who were wearily looking for some more substantial resting-place for their spirits than the thin and conflicting philosophies of their own sages, or who had joyfully accepted the God of Israel as the only true God.

When we remember how they were placed and influenced, we do not wonder that the teaching of the first Apostles and missionaries of the Cross found a far wider acceptance with these scattered and expatriated Jews than with the homebred homekeeping Jews of Palestine; we no longer wonder that in every city into which Paul entered he went straight to the synagogue, and made his first appeal to the Jews and proselytes who worshipped in it, and that he seldom made his appeal in vain, Jews and proselytes in every city yielding him his first converts and disciples.

These were the men to whom St. James wrote. And we may be very sure that the Christian Jews of every clime would joyfully welcome the letter of a Jew so just, so honoured and devout, as the bishop of Jerusalem, that sacred city to which their hearts still fondly turned; "the brother" of that Lord who had died to take away the sin of the whole world, and to throw open the kingdom of heaven to as many as put their trust in Him.

James the Jew was the very man to command a cordial and reverent hearing from "the twelve tribes of the Dispersion."

S. Cox.

BREVIA.

Arnold's "Neronian Persecution."¹—In this careful monograph Dr. Arnold has made an important contribution to the history of the later apostolic age, founded upon a most thorough and satisfying critical investigation of the vexed passage Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44. Such an investigation was certainly called for. Since Gibbon (chap. xv.) suggested that Tacitus might have been misled by the name "Galilæans" to see, in proceedings against a supposed fanatical Jewish sect of that name, a persecution directed against Christians, the credit of the Tacitean account has been called in question from many quarters. Merivale regards the Jews as the primary objects of the *crimen incendii*, the Christians having been (*indicio eorum*) delated by them in the second instance. Hermann Schiller has more recently (1872) elaborated the hypothesis of Gibbon, while Hochart (*Études*, 1885) and others suppose the passage to have been interpolated by Christian hands. Arnold aims at an exhaustive treatment of the problem. The following are its main points: (1) the correct text of *Ann.* xv. 44; (2) the exegesis; (3) historical criticism of its statements; (4) the nature and area of the persecution, in reality and in later tradition; (5) general results.

The textual discussion (pp. 4–11), which is throughout full of interest, is remarkable not least for its thorough sifting of the crux "*aut crucibus affixi aut flammandi atque ubi defecisset dies*" etc. Without attempting to condense so concise a discussion, its general result may be stated. Arnold combines the almost certain conjecture of Meursius *utque* for *atque* (which moreover must have been read by Sulpicius Severus) with the happy substitution of *sunt* for the second *aut*, so that the passage runs "*aut crucibus adfixi sunt flammandi utque ubi defecisset*" etc. The resulting construction, the gerundive co-ordinated with an *ut* or *ne* clause, is not infrequent in the *Annals* (ii. 36, iv. 9, and Dräger pp. 30, 31), and this restoration of the passage yields for the first time a satisfactory sense. I would add that it satisfies at once the just objection of Nipperdey (who brackets the words *aut crucibus* . . . *flammandi*), that these tortures do not come under the head

¹ Arnold, Lic. Dr. F. C.: *Die Neronische Christenverfolgung*. (Leipzig: Richter, 1898, pp. viii. 120.)

of *ludibria*, and the equally acute remark of Renan (*Antechrist*, p. 165²): "Pent-être le second *aut* est-il de trop. *Flammandi*, au sens de *ut flammarentur*, est bon." Arnold gives in illustration of his textual criticism a welcome photozincograph of the whole passage as it stands in the Cod. Medicus II., our primary authority for this portion of the *Annals*. In the exegetical discussion which follows (pp. 11-30) I would single out for special commendation the explanation of *per flagitia inuisos*, which he shows to be applicable to the charges of *ὀνειδιστὰς δαίμνα* and *Οἰδιπόδαιοι μίφες*, rather than to offences against public order, and that of the very important *qui fatebantur*, which, by a careful and convincing induction from general and in particular from Tacitean use, he proves, in opposition to a host of scholars (Nipperdey, Orëlli, Renan, Aubé, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, etc.), to mean neither profession of religious belief (*profiteri*) nor voluntary confession (*confiteri*), but confession of the crime (*incendium*) with which they have been charged (*subdidit reos*, the *igitur* pointing back to the clause preceding the digression on the origin of the name *Christiani*). After a short analysis, which brings out the perspicuity and masterly arrangement of the passage, Arnold passes to the historical objections which have been alleged against its statements. He shows that both Clement of Rome and Suetonius knew of a persecution of the Christians under Nero, although the latter writer, perhaps in conformity with the general plan of his life of Nero, says nothing of their having been accused of *incendium*. With reference to the objection that Tacitus may be putting down to Christians what had really befallen Jews, he points out, firstly, that Tacitus can be proved (pp. 46-50) to have been aware of the distinction between the two; secondly, that the objections which have been raised against so early a currency of the name Christian (p. 53) in Rome are inconclusive; thirdly, that the admitted tendency to confuse the two at this early date (when Christianity spread, as Tertullian says, "*sub umbraculo licitæ religionis*") would account for Christians being spoken of as Jews, but not for Jews being spoken of as Christians. The populace then, as early as Nero's time, both knew and hated the Christians. But why? Arnold brings evidence to show that the popular belief in their *flagitia* may well have arisen by this date, and argues that the heathen character of the *flagitia* is not inconsistent with the statement of Justin that these charges originated in Jewish quarters.

He alleges in support of the latter statement some (rather slight) rabbinical evidence earlier than Justin. He proceeds to show the likelihood (p. 63 *seq.*) that the first confessions and *indicia* were obtained by torture, quite irrespectively of the real guilt of the accused; and that the *flagitia*, the *crimen incendii*, and that of *odium humani generis* hang well together (pp. 64-75), especially in view of the eschatological beliefs of Christians, of their claim to miraculous gifts, and of the fact that magic (*superstitio nova ac malefica*, Suet.) and arson both came under the *Lex Cornelia* (Sullæ) *de Sicariis*. The general result is to draw a broad distinction between the Neronian and the later persecutions: the latter being dictated by grounds of public policy or principle, while the former was merely an attempt of the emperor to avert popular suspicion by fastening it upon an unpopular sect. The next step is to examine the growth of tradition on the subject, with the result of reducing our estimate of the importance of this persecution as marking an epoch in the relations of Christianity to the State. Arnold successfully shows that the supposed traces of it in the Sibylline books have other references, and that the true tradition was gradually discoloured by the apologists, whose natural tendency was to ascribe persecution only to the bad emperors. Hence to later writers Nero becomes the *πρῶτος θεομάχος* (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25), the deliberate hater of the Christian religion, and the persecution a general one, instead of what it really was, merely local to Rome. I have necessarily omitted many points of interest, but hope that enough has been said to direct many readers to so sober and scholarly a piece of criticism. I will mention in conclusion two burning questions which are affected by Arnold's investigation.

1. The belief in Nero's future return was neither of Christian origin nor a result of the persecution, as maintained by F. C. Baur and others. That an unpopular sect, almost exclusively of foreign origin and Greek in language, could have impressed this fixed idea on the native Roman populace, is in itself unlikely, while the origin of the idea is naturally enough to be found in the *varius rumor* attending Nero's death, and in the popularity he undoubtedly enjoyed among the rabble (*e.g.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 78). Such is Arnold's contention (p. 70-78). Accordingly, and in view of the true nature and extent of the persecution, he wholly rejects the view that the Apocalypse is to be explained by reference to the Neronian persecution. This result will certainly require

careful consideration before it can be taken as established. Granted that the belief in Nero's return was of heathen origin, it may yet have been shared by Christians. We know moreover, from Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9, that it caused disturbances in the Ægean region. Again, even if we reject the tradition of St. John's visit to Rome, the constant intercourse with Rome would amply explain the deep impression made upon Christians in Asia Minor by this persecution. And there is justice in the remark of Lüdemann (in a generally favourable notice in the new issue of Lipsius' *Theolog. Jahresbericht*), that Arnold fails to give any positive account of the Apocalypse in view of his results.

2. The fact of the popular hatred of the Christians in Nero's reign shows that at Rome even thus early they were readily distinguishable from Jews; so much so, that they were marked out for a general persecution which, so far as all our evidence goes, left the latter quite untouched. This result, tallying as it does with Acts xxviii. and with Romans i. 5, 13, xi. 13, xv. 16, adds one more to the numerous difficulties which encumber the view, characteristic especially of the Tübingen school, and most ably defended in recent years by Mangold (*Der Römerbrief u.s.w.* 1884), that the Roman Church consisted almost entirely of Jewish Christians. The counter-theory has its difficulties (especially the language of Romans vii. 3, 4), but they lose in weight when we bear in mind the importance of the class of proselytes of the gate as a factor in the problem. The general tendency of recent criticism is certainly in favour of the mainly Gentile composition of the Roman Church, and in spite of the protest of Lüdemann (*ubi supra*), I cannot but think that Dr. Arnold has materially contributed to its support, at any rate so far as concerns the period after that sojourn of St. Paul which marks so important an epoch in the history of Christianity in the Eternal City. We shall look forward with interest to the author's projected monograph (p. vi.) on the traditions connecting St. Peter as well as St. Paul with the early history of the Roman Church.

A. ROBERTSON.

St. Philip's Calculation (St. John vi. 5-7).—There is an interesting hint of character in this incident, which, so far as I know, has not been noticed by the commentators. Our Lord, we are told, asked Philip the question to prove him. It was a trial

or test of character. A little consideration will show that Philip's answer was not a haphazard guess, but the result of a swift and shrewd calculation. A penny, or denarius, as we know from St. Matthew xx. 2, was an ordinary day's wage of a labourer. This is confirmed by referring to Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 17, where we learn that the soldier's ordinary pay was somewhat under a denarius: "Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent." This being so, a denarius a day would suffice for the support of a man and his family, say, for the sake of argument, for five persons. But of course only a portion of this would be spent on food. It is a sign of famine times that a measure (χοῖνιξ) of wheat should be sold for a penny (Rev. vi. 6); i.e. that the whole of a man's wage should go for bread (a χοῖνιξ being regarded as a day's provision).

If then we assume that half a denarius would provide for a family of five, a denarius would purchase provision for ten persons. Consequently the two hundred denarii in Philip's calculation would provide amply for two thousand persons; but as he adds, "that every one may take a little," he is clearly thinking of a short allowance, and in his rapid survey of the assembled multitude he saw that the two hundred denarii would suffice, but barely suffice, to give a small portion to each one of the vast multitude, whose numbers he could not have accurately known. Each of the four or five thousand men, he calculated, might have perhaps a small half portion. St. Matthew indeed mentions women and children also; but as these are unnoticed by the other evangelists their number was probably inconsiderable, *une quantité négligeable*.

The sum of two hundred denarii then was not named without reason. And our Lord's appeal to Philip may imply that such matter of fact calculation was characteristic of him. There was a want of imagination and of the faith which needs imagination. The very power to calculate and make shrewd provision for the future may have been the element in his character which needed the Divine rebuke of the miracle which followed.

A. CARR.

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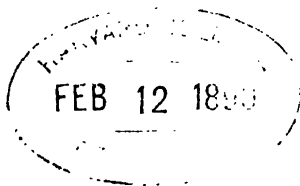
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*INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHENTICITY
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II.

HAVING thus established the fact that the writer was neither a Gentile nor a Hellenist, but a Hebrew of the Hebrews, we will proceed to inquire further whether he evinces an acquaintance with the manners and feelings, and also with the geography and history (more especially the contemporary history) of Palestine, which so far as our knowledge goes (and in dealing with such questions we must not advance one step beyond our knowledge) would be morally impossible with even a Hebrew Christian at the supposed date, long after the political existence of the nation had been obliterated, and when the disorganization of Jewish society was complete.

As I am obliged to compress my remarks within the space of a single lecture, I cannot place the evidence fully before you; but my hope is, that I may indicate the lines of investigation which will enable you to answer it more completely for yourselves. I will only say, that we obtain from the Fourth Gospel details at once fuller and more minute on all these points than from the other three. Whether we turn to the Messianic hopes of the chosen people, with all the attendant circumstances with which imagination had invested this expected event, or to the mutual relations of Samaritans, Jews, Galileans, Romans, and the respective feelings, prejudices, beliefs, customs of each, or to the topography as well of the city and the temple as of the rural districts—the Lake of Gennesaret, and the cornfields and

mountain ridges of Shechem—or to the contemporary history of the Jewish hierarchy and the Herodian sovereignty, we are alike struck at every turn with subtle and unsuspected traces, betokening the familiarity with which the writer moves amidst the ever-shifting scenes of his wonderful narrative.

This minuteness of detail in the Fourth Evangelist is very commonly overlooked, because our gaze is arrested by still more important and unique features in this Gospel. The striking character of our Lord's discourses as recorded in St. John—their length and sequence, their simplicity of language, their fulness and depth of meaning—dazzles the eye of the critic and blinds him to the historical aspects of the narrative. Only concentrating our view on these latter shall we realize the truth that the evangelist is not floating in the clouds of airy theological speculations, that though with his eye he peers into the mysteries of the unseen, his foot is planted on the solid ground of external fact; that, in short, the incidents are not invented as a framework for the doctrine, but that the doctrine arises naturally out of, and derives its meaning from, the incidents.

One example will serve at once to illustrate the double characteristic of this Gospel, the accurate historical narrative of facts which forms the basis of the Gospel, and the theological teaching which is built as a superstructure upon this foundation, and which the evangelist keeps distinctly and persistently in view in his selection and arrangement of the facts, and also to introduce the investigation which I purpose instituting.

The narrative and the discourses alike are thoroughly saturated with the Messianic ideas of the time. The Christ, as expected by the Jews, is the one central figure round which all the facts are grouped, the one main topic on which all the conversations hinge. This is the more remarkable, because the leading conception in the writer's

own mind is not the Messiah, but the Word, the Logos,—not the deliverance of Israel, but the manifestation of God in the flesh. This main purpose is flung out at the opening of the Gospel, and it is kept steadily in view in the selection of materials throughout the work. But it does not once enter into the mind of the Jews, who are wholly absorbed in the Messianic idea. Nay, the word Logos does not once occur even on our Lord's own lips, though the obvious motive of His teaching is to enforce this higher aspect of His person, to which they were strangers. And I cannot but think that this distinct separation is a remarkable testimony to the credibility of the writer, who, however strongly impressed with his mission as the teacher of a great theological conception, nevertheless keeps it free from his narrative of facts; though obviously there would be a very strong temptation to introduce it, a temptation which to a mere forger would be irresistible.

The Messianic idea, for instance, is turned about on all sides, and presented in every aspect. On this point we learn very much more of contemporary Jewish opinion from the Fourth Gospel than from the other three. At the commencement and at the close of the narrative—in the preaching of the Baptist and in the incidents of the passion—it is equally prominent. In Galilee (i. 41, 46, 49; vi. 15, 28, 30 *sq.*), in Samaria (iv. 25, 29, 42), in Judæa (v. 39, 45 *sq.*; vii. 26 *sq.*, 40–43; viii. 30 *sq.*; x. 24), it is the one standard theme of conversation. Among friends, among foes, among neutrals alike it is mooted and discussed. The person and character of Jesus are tried by this standard. He is accepted or He is rejected, as He fulfils or contradicts the received ideal of the Messiah.

The accessories also of the Messiah's coming, as conceived by the Jews, are brought out with a completeness beyond the other gospels. I will only ask you, as an illustration of this, to consider the discourse on the manna in the sixth

chapter. The key to the meaning of the conversation is the fact that the Jews expected a miracle similar to the gift of manna in the wilderness, as an accompaniment of the appearance of the great deliverer. This expectation throws a flood of light on the whole discourse. But the fact is not communicated in the passage itself. There is only a bald, isolated statement, which apparently is suggested by nothing, and itself fails to suggest anything: "Our fathers did eat manna in the wilderness." Then comes an aposiopesis. The inference is unexpressed. The expectation, which explains all, is left to be inferred, because it would be mentally supplied by men brought up among the ideas of the time. We ourselves have to get it by the aid of criticism and research from rabbinical authorities. But, when we have grasped it, we can unlock the meaning of the whole chapter.

Connected with Messiah's coming are other conceptions on which it may be worth while to dwell for a moment. One of these is the appearance of a mysterious person called "*the prophet*." This expectation arose out of the announcement in Deuteronomy xviii. 15, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, like unto me." To this anticipation we have allusions in not less than four places in St. John (i. 21, 25; vi. 14; vii. 40), in all of which "*the prophet*" is mentioned, though in the three first the distinctness of the expectation is blurred in the English version by the rendering "*that prophet*." In all these passages the mention of "*the prophet*" without any explanation is most natural on the lips of contemporary Jews, whose minds were filled with the Messianic conceptions of the times; while such language is extremely unlikely to have been invented for them more than a century after the date of the supposed occurrences. But the point especially to be observed is, that the form which the conception takes is strictly Jewish, and not Christian.

Christian teachers identified the prophet foretold by Moses with our Lord Himself, and therefore with the Christ. This application of the prophecy is made directly in St. Peter's speech (Acts iii. 22), and inferentially in St. Stephen's (Acts vii. 37); and later Christian teachers followed in their steps. But these Jews in St. John's Gospel conceive "*the Christ*" and "*the prophet*" as two different persons. If He is not "*the Christ*," they adopt the alternative that He may be "*the prophet*" (i. 21, 25); if not the prophet, then the Christ (vii. 40). It is hardly conceivable to my mind that a Christian writer, living in or after the middle of the second century, calling on his imagination for facts, should have divested himself so absolutely of the Christian idea and fallen back on the Jewish.

But before I have done with "*the prophet*," there is yet one more point worthy of notice. After the miracle of feeding the five thousand, we are told that "those men who had seen the miracle that Jesus did said, This is of a truth *the prophet* that should come into the world" (vi. 14). The connexion is not obvious, and the writer has not explained himself. Here again the missing link is supplied by the Messianic conception of the age. The prophet foretold was to be like Moses himself. Hence it was inferred that there must be a parallel in the works of the two. Hence a repetition of the gift of the manna—the bread from heaven—might be expected. Was not this miracle then the very fulfilment of their expectation? Hence we read that on the day following (after several incidents have intervened, but with the miracle still fresh on their minds), they seek Him out, and still try to elicit a definite answer from Him: "What sign showest Thou then? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert." Thus a casual and indistinct reference in one part of the chapter is explained by an equally casual and indistinct reference in another, and light emerges from darkness.

From the Messianic ideas I turn to the Jewish sects and the Levitical hierarchy.

The Sadducees, with whom we are familiar in other gospels, are not once mentioned by the Fourth Evangelist. How are we to account for this fact? Have we here a discrepancy, or (if not a discrepancy) at least an incongruity? Is there in St. John's picture an entire omission of that group which occupies a prominent place on the canvas of the other evangelists, especially of St. Matthew?

The common connexion, when describing the adversaries of our Lord, is "the Pharisees and Sadducees" in the synoptic evangelists, "the chief priests and the Pharisees" in St. John. In the comparison of these phrases lies the solution. The high priests at this time belonged to the sect of the Sadducees. How this happened we do not know. It may be that their Roman rulers favoured this party, as being more lukewarm than the Pharisees in religious matters, and therefore less likely to give trouble to the civil powers. At all events, the fact appears distinctly from more than one notice in the narrative of the Acts (iv. 1, v. 17); and the same is stated in a passage of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1). Thus a real coincidence arises from an apparent incongruity.

But Josephus elsewhere (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 4) makes another statement respecting the Pharisees, which throws great light on the narrative of the Fourth Evangelist. He tells us that the Sadducees were few in number, though of the highest rank; and that when they were in office, they were forced, even against their will, to listen to the Pharisees, because otherwise they would not be tolerated by the people. Now this is precisely the order of events in St. John. The Pharisees (with one single exception) always take the initiative; they are the active opponents of our Lord, and the chief priests step in to execute their will.

The single exception is remarkable. Once only we find

chief priests acting alone and acting promptly (xii. 10). They form a plot for putting Lazarus to death. This was essentially a Sadducees' question. It was necessary that a living witness to the great truth, which the high-priestly party denied, should be got rid of at all hazards. Hence they bestir themselves and throw off their usual apathy; just as, turning from the Gospels to the Acts of the Apostles, they have taken the place of the Pharisees as the foremost persecutors of the new faith, because the resurrection from the dead was the cardinal topic of the preaching of the apostles.

But there is one other notice of the Jewish historian with which the narrative of the Fourth Evangelist presents a striking but unsuspecting coincidence. We are somewhat startled with the outburst of rudeness which marks the chief of the party on one occasion (xi. 49). "One of them, Caiaphas, being high priest that year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, and ye do not reflect that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish." As a comment on this, take the words of Josephus: "The behaviour of the Sadducees to one another is not a little rude, and their intercourse with their peers is brusque, as if addressing strangers" (*B.J.* ii. 8. 14).

These coincidences need little comment. I will only add that the Fourth Evangelist does not himself give us the key to the incidents, that the references have been gathered from three different parts of Josephus, that the statements in the evangelist are not embroideries on his narrative, but are woven into its very texture; and that nevertheless all these several notices dovetail together and create one harmonious whole, which bears the very impress of strict historical truth.

After reviewing these coincidences, it will appear strange that from the passage last quoted Baur derived what he

obviously considered to be one of his strongest arguments against the authenticity of the Gospel. Because the evangelist three times speaks of Caiaphas as "high priest that year" (xi. 49, 51; xviii. 13), he argues that the writer supposed the high priesthood to be an annual office, and therefore could not have been the Apostle John.

Now unless I have entirely misled you and myself, this is incredible. You cannot imagine that one who shows an acquaintance, not only with the language, but also with the customs, feelings, history, topography of the race, even in their minute details, should yet be ignorant of this most elementary fact of Jewish institutions. Whether the Gospel is authentic or whether it is not, such a supposition is equally incredible. If the writing is a forgery, the forger was certainly highly informed and extremely subtle; he must have ransacked divers histories for his facts; and yet here he is credited with a degree of ignorance which a casual glance at a few pages of his Old Testament or his Josephus would at once have served to dissipate. Suppose a parallel case. Imagine one, who writing (we will say) a historical work, shows a subtle appreciation of political feeling in England, and a minute acquaintance with English social institutions, and yet falls into the error of supposing that the premier is elected annually by vote of the people, or that the lord-mayoralty is a hereditary office tenable for life. If therefore this supposition is simply impossible, we must explain the expression, "high priest that year," in some other way. And the explanation seems to be this. The most important duty of the high priest was an annual function, the sacrifice and intercession for the people on the great day of atonement. "Once every year," says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 7), "the high priest alone entereth into the second tabernacle (the inner sanctuary), not without blood, which he offereth for himself and for the errors of the people.' The year of which the

evangelist speaks was the year of all years ; the acceptable year of the Lord, as it is elsewhere called ; the year in which the great sacrifice, the one atonement, was made, the atonement which annulled once and for ever the annual repetitions. It so happened that it was the duty of Caiaphas, as high priest, to enter the holy of holies, and offer the atonement for *that* year. The evangelist sees, if we may use the phrase without irreverence, a dramatic propriety in the fact that he of all men should make this declaration. By a Divine irony he is made unconsciously to declare the truth, proclaiming Jesus to be the great atoning sacrifice, and himself to be instrumental in offering the victim. This irony of circumstances is illustrated in the case of Pilate, as in the case of Caiaphas. The latter, the representative of the Jewish hierarchy, pronounces Jesus the great atoning sacrifice ; the former, the representative of the civil power, pronounces Him as the sovereign of the race, " Behold your King ! " The malignity of Caiaphas and the sneer of Pilate alike bear witness to a higher truth than they themselves consciously apprehend.

From the sects and the hierarchy we may turn to the city and the temple. Here too we should do well to bear in mind how largely we owe the distinctive features of the topography and architecture with which we are familiar to the Fourth Gospel. Within the sacred precincts themselves the Porch of Solomon, within the Holy City the pools of Bethsaida and Siloam, are brought before our eyes by this evangelist alone. And when we pass outside of the walls, he is still our guide. From him we trace the steps of the Lord and His disciples on that fatal night crossing the brook Kedron into the garden ; it is he who, relating the last triumphal entry into Jerusalem, specifies "*the* branches of the palm trees " (the other evangelists use general expressions, " boughs of the trees," or the like)—"*the* palm trees " on which he had so often gazed, of which

the sight was still so fresh in his memory, which clothed the eastern slopes of Olivet, and gave its name to the village of Bethany, "the house of dates." How simple and natural the definite articles are on the lips of an eye-witness I need not say. How awkward they sound to later ears, and how little likely to have been used by a later writer, unfamiliar with the scene itself, we may infer from the fact that in our own version they are suppressed, and the evangelist is made to say, "they took branches of palm trees."

Moreover the familiarity of the Fourth Evangelist, not only with the site and the buildings of the temple, but also with the history, appears in a striking way from a casual allusion. After the description of the cleansing of the temple by our Lord,—a description which though brief is given with singular vividness of detail—the Jews ask for some sign, as the credential which might justify this assumption of authority and right of chastisement. His answer is, "Pull down this temple, and in three days I will build it up." Their astonishment is expressed in their reply, "This temple has been forty-six years in building, and wilt Thou raise it again in three days?" (ii. 19, 20.)

Now I think it will be allowed that this mention of time is quite undesigned. It has no appearance of artifice, it occurs naturally in the course of conversation, and it is altogether free from suspicion, as having been introduced to give a historical colouring to a work of fiction. If so, let us examine its historical bearing.

For this purpose it is necessary to follow two distinct lines of chronological research. We have to investigate the history of the building of the Herodian temple, and we have to ascertain the dates of our Lord's life.

Now by comparison of several passages in Josephus, and by the exercise of historical criticism upon them, we arrive at the conclusion that Herod commenced his temple about A.U.C. 735, *i.e.* B.C. 18. It took many years in building, and

was not finally completed until A.U.C. 817, *i.e.* A.D. 64. Thus the works were going on during the whole of the period comprised in the New Testament history. If we add forty-six years to the date of its commencement (A.U.C. 735) we are brought down to A.U.C. 781 or 782, *i.e.* A.D. 28 or 29.

The chronology of Herod's temple involves one considerable effort of historical criticism. The chronology of our Lord's life requires another. Into this question however I need not enter in detail. It is sufficient to remind you that the common date of the Christian era is now generally allowed to be a little wide of the mark, and that our Lord's birth actually took place three or four years before this era. The point to be observed here is, that St. Luke places the baptism of our Lord in or about the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which comprised the interval between the autumn of 781 and the autumn of 782. Now the occurrence related by St. John took place, as we may infer from his narrative, in the first passover after the baptism; that is, according to St. Luke's chronology probably at the passover of 782.

Thus we are brought to the same date by following two lines of chronology; and we arrive at the fact that forty-six years there or thereabouts had actually elapsed since the commencement of Herod's building to this point in our Lord's ministry. I am anxious not to speak with too great precision, because the facts do not allow it. The exact number might have been forty-five or forty-seven years, for fragments of years may be reckoned in or not in our calculation, and the data are not sufficiently exact to determine the date to a nicety. But, after all allowance made for this margin of uncertainty, the coincidence is sufficiently striking.

And now let us suppose the Gospel to have been written in the middle of the second century, and ask ourselves what strong improbabilities this hypothesis involves.

The writer must first have made himself acquainted with

a number of facts connected with the temple of Herod. He must not only have known that the temple was commenced in a particular year, but also that it was still incomplete at the time of our Lord's ministry. So far as we know, he could only have got these facts from Josephus. Even Josephus however does not state the actual date of the commencement of the temple. It requires some patient research to arrive at this date by a comparison of several passages. We have therefore to suppose, first, that the forger of the Fourth Gospel went through an elaborate critical investigation for the sake of ascertaining the date. But, secondly, he must have made himself acquainted with the chronology of the gospel history. At all events, he must have ascertained the date of the commencement of our Lord's ministry. The most favourable supposition is, that he had before him the Gospel of St. Luke, though he nowhere else betrays the slightest acquaintance with this gospel. Here he would find the date which he wanted, reckoned by the years of the Roman emperors. Thirdly, after arriving at these two results by separate processes, he must combine them; thus connecting the chronology of the Jewish kings with the chronology of the Roman emperors, the chronology of the temple erections with the chronology of our Lord's life.

When he has taken all these pains, and worked up the subject so elaborately, he drops in the notice which has given him so much trouble in an incidental and inobtrusive way. It has no direct bearing on his history; it does not subserve the purpose of his theology. It leads to nothing, proves nothing. Certainly the art of concealing art was never exercised in a more masterly way than here. And yet this was an age which perpetrated the most crude and bungling forgeries, and is denounced by modern criticism for its utter incapacity of criticism.

(To be concluded.)

IN MEMORIAM DR. EDWIN HATCH.

I do not think that Dr. Hatch ever contributed to *THE EXPOSITOR*, but I should probably not be wrong in saying that few English writers would be better known to its readers. In more senses than one he was distinguished for what the late Dr. J. B. Mozley used, I believe, to call "underground work." Much that he himself did never found its way into print, and the influence of his work was felt far beyond the circle to which it was originally addressed. He was one of those minds which do not simply move in the old grooves, but which enrich the age in which they live as much by the questions which they start as by those which they solve.

A striking feature in English history during the present century has been the influence from time to time, standing out like bright spots upon the map, first of one and then of another of its great schools. This influence has differed somewhat in kind. If Eton or Harrow can point to a brilliant roll of names, this has been due less to the stimulating energy of any one master than to the influence which the boys have exercised upon each other, the old *noblesse oblige* working among the select youth of the nation. Other schools have borne, and there are others again which seem likely to bear, more the impress of some one or two strong individualities. All the world agrees that it was Arnold who made Rugby. It would seem to have been Dr. Butler who first put his stamp upon Shrewsbury, and made it the home of our classical scholars. What Shrewsbury has been for scholarship, that—and in its proportion even more—has King Edward's School, Birmingham, been for theology. It is a fact, which another sad event has tended to make better known than it was,

that in the inmost circle of our leading divines no less a trio than Dr. Westcott, Dr. Lightfoot, and Dr. Benson, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, all came from this school. I name them in the order of their seniority. Dr. Westcott went up to Trinity in '1843, Dr. Benson in 1848.¹ All three received their inspiration from James Prince Lee, who was headmaster from 1838 to 1848, when he became Bishop of Manchester. And yet the period when they were together was only the culminating point in the great days of the school. Prince Lee had received it in thoroughly efficient condition from Dr. Jeune (1834-1838), who left to take the headship of his old college, and afterwards rose to be Dean of Gloucester and Bishop of Peterborough. Dr. Jeune was a very able man and an excellent organizer; the first university commission owed much to him, and if he had lived he would probably have been an equally conspicuous figure upon the bench. He had already sent out a scholar in William Linwood,² who swept the board of university prizes at the beginning of his career, though the products of his pen in after life hardly came up to his early reputation. Nor did the school really decline under Prince Lee's successor, Edwin Hamilton Gifford (1848-1862), afterwards Archdeacon of London and Canon of St. Paul's, and better known still among scholars as the author of an admirable commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. One untimely death and the slowness with which fame is won may prevent it from possessing quite the same degree of lustre, but it was not a common school which produced at one and the same time Edwin Hatch, Robert William Dixon, the poet and

¹ Besides these, Dr. Lee had the rare distinction of seeing two of his pupils bracketed senior classic in 1845, Hubert A. Holden and Frederic Rendall, an able and original (may I not say, at times too original?) contributor to *THE EXPOSITOR*.

² Other Birmingham scholars of a still earlier date were Lord Lingen, Charles Rann Kennedy, Dr. Guest, the antiquary, and Sir William Martin.

historian of the Reformation, and Edward Burne Jones, the artist. It is curious to observe how the character of the school has altered. It has lost something in intensity—the trio first named impress all the more from the fact that their work lay so much along the same lines—but it has gained in variety and width of range. The originality and earnestness of purpose which the men of the younger generation have shown in their several spheres make it clear that there was a powerful influence behind them.

Edwin Hatch was born at Derby on September 4th, 1835, but by the removal of his family to Birmingham in 1844 he became a day-boy at King Edward's School. He entered the school at once, and was therefore for a time, during his passage through the lower forms, under Prince Lee; but five years and a half, till the midsummer of 1853, were spent under the headmastership of Dr. Gifford. Only within the last year the old headmaster came to reside near his pupil; and I owe it to his kindness that I have access to the school-lists of this period, which enable us to trace the young scholar's career in an interesting way. We find him at first on the modern side; but his promise was evidently discovered, and he was soon transferred to the classical department, where we watch him rising rapidly up the school, class by class, gaining prizes as he went, until he left with an exhibition to Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1853. School-lists are documents of a rather bare and undescriptive kind; still one or two characteristic things come out from them. In 1851 Bishop Lee gave £100 to found an annual prize "for a critical essay on a passage of the Greek Testament." Dr. Westcott was appropriately chosen as the first examiner; and the form which the prize took, to which I do not know an exact parallel elsewhere, seems to give us a glimpse of the method by which he had been himself trained. It does not appear that Edwin Hatch won this prize, though he had previously

won or been *proxime accessit* for the ordinary class-prizes in divinity. The tercentenary of the school was celebrated in 1852, when special prizes were given for two historical subjects. The first of these, open to the whole school, was gained by Dixon, with an essay on the "State of Literature in England in the Times of Edward the Sixth"—a subject which perhaps did something to implant the germ which afterwards developed into the great work with which the author's name is associated. The other prize, for which the first and second classes were not allowed to compete, was gained by Hatch with an essay on the "Social Condition of England" at the same period. Social economy and the times of the Reformation were subjects in which he retained an interest, though in his case they were only two amongst many, and two which he did not make so distinctively his own.

Towards the end of his school career young Hatch, whose parents were Nonconformists, fell strongly under the influence of Dr. J. C. Miller, who was at that time a power in Birmingham; and as a result of this he became a Churchman. It was owing to the same influence that he went up to Oxford. He followed his friend Dixon to Pembroke. Dr. Jeune's old connexion with the school drew the Birmingham men to his college. Among them were not only Dixon and Hatch, but Faulkner, a mathematician, who carried all before him in 1853-1855, and another Birmingham man, though not, as I understand, from King Edward's School, Birkbeck Hill, now so well known by his classical edition of the works of Johnson. In those days the undergraduates were allowed to choose their own table in hall, and the Birmingham men hung together in this way, not mixing much with the rest of the college. They were an able group, and ideas of all kinds fermented actively among them. Burne Jones had in the meantime gone up to Exeter, and it was probably through him that

Hatch became acquainted with William Morris, who was at the same college. A little later Swinburne joined the circle from Balliol. The mention of these names will show in what direction ideas were setting. Hatch also was caught by them, but he had other interests as well of a profounder kind. He must have been the philosopher of his set. There are in my hands a number of letters belonging to the later Oxford time. In these he is seen in frequent correspondence with the editors of the magazines of the day: the *Church Quarterly* (as it then was), the *London Quarterly*, the *London Illustrated*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, the *Examiner*, the *Record*. All the editors write in terms of great cordiality and respect. Hatch was vigorously engaged in supplying them with articles. "Ruskin," "Dante," "King Arthur," "The Romances of Chivalry," "Hymnology," "The State of Parties in Oxford," "The Neoplatonists," "Arabian Philosophy," "Grant," "Hegel," are among the subjects mentioned, and will give some idea of his range of thought. He had the idea of starting a magazine himself; and his negotiations with this object produced, amongst others, a very judicious letter from Messrs. Macmillan.

These distracting interests may have had something to do with the second class which fell to his lot in the final examination of Michaelmas, 1857. The first class in this list contained only two names, one being that of another Pembroke man, who added to it a first in mathematics, Dr. Moore, now Principal of St. Edmund Hall, and eminent as a critic of Dante. Hatch appears to have had an illness about this time, but his comparative failure was set down by contemporaries who knew how really able he was to some defects in scholarship. Scholarship in the narrow and technical sense is a thing in which it is difficult to make up lee-way; and I can well imagine that the years spent on the modern side at King Edward's School told

their tale. In after years Hatch made himself a scholar in a sense by the application of rigorous inductive method and by philosophic thinking, though in this respect it might perhaps be possible to find a weak place or two in his armour. The winning in 1858 of the prize for the Ellerton Theological Essay, on the "Lawfulness of War," was some compensation for his disappointment.

Now came, as so often comes in the career of a young scholar, a period of struggle and difficulty: the brief but dreary tenure of a mastership at Cowbridge; ordination as deacon and priest, with ardent work at the East End, including much open-air preaching at Shoreditch; and along with this, anxieties of more kinds than one. Meanwhile old friendships were actively kept up, and it is clear that they were a source of comfort and support. Some slight jottings in a diary testify to this, and to the warm and enthusiastic feelings of the writer. The enthusiasm changed its colour somewhat as life went on, but one can feel it behind the scientific work of later years, not untinged (alas!) by that occasional note of deep sadness which was another link between youth and maturity.

The ties which had stood the strain so well were however soon to be broken. In the autumn of 1859 Hatch set sail for America, where he had obtained an appointment as Professor of Classics at Trinity College, Toronto. This he held until 1862, when he accepted the rectorship of the High School of Quebec. With reference to this period I cannot do better than quote from a sympathetic sketch which appeared in the *Ottawa Daily Citizen*:

"In the same year (1862), on the foundation, through the munificence of the late Dr. Joseph Morrin, of the College at Quebec, which bears his name, Mr. Hatch was appointed to the chair of classics and mental and moral philosophy therein, and continued to discharge the laborious and important functions incident to the two positions mentioned for many years. There are many of Mr. Hatch's students

scattered over the Dominion, some of them eminent in the learned professions, and others filling high and responsible positions in the banking and commercial world, as well as in the public service, who will recall with melancholy interest their old professor's varied gifts of scholarship and immense stores of knowledge, together with the charming courtesy of the man, which was as apparent in his conversation as it was conspicuous in his character. In this latter connexion we have no doubt the surviving members of the 'original twenty-nine,' one or two of whom now reside at the capital, will long retain agreeable recollections of the professor's literary and musical evenings at his pleasant bachelor quarters on the Esplanade. . . . Dr. Hatch never forgot the country where he had passed so many pleasant years, and of whose rapid growth and advancement he had been a personal witness. For many years after his return to the mother country nothing afforded him so much pleasure as to meet, as he occasionally did in the great City of Colleges, old Canadian faces, and to converse with such visitors on matters and things touching the march of events in the 'New Britain' across the seas. Among other ties binding him to this country was his marriage to a Canadian, the daughter of the late Sheriff Thomas, of Hamilton, Ontario."

Besides this warmly expressed tribute, Hatch brought away with him at the time many testimonies to the high esteem in which he was held—an address from the bishop and leading citizens of Quebec, resolutions by the governing bodies of Morrin College and the High School, personal testimonials, amongst others from Sir J. W. Dawson, an honoured contributor to *THE EXPOSITOR*, and presents of silver from several groups of his pupils.

In 1867 Hatch returned to Oxford, taking work at St. Mary Hall, of which in October of the same year he became vice-principal. This office he held until pressure of work compelled him to resign it in 1885. "During those eighteen years," writes Dr. Chase, the principal, "he was a most painstaking teacher, though he must have known that his ability would have been better bestowed upon higher work. I cannot remember a single instance of interruption to the harmony with which we worked together; our friendship was in no way impaired by the fact that on almost all public or academical matters we

entertained opinions differing and not seldom opposed." Both points were characteristic. Hatch was one of the most generous of opponents, and he would never have thought of allowing public differences to interfere with private relations. He was also most conscientious in the discharge of what would be thought unattractive duties. I believe that I am right in saying that he was remarkable for the amount of trouble which he took with dull and backward men. Work of this kind was naturally valued. Several of his pupils either came from considerable distances to attend his funeral or warmly expressed their sense of obligation to him. Along with his tuition at St. Mary Hall he took a number of pupils into his own house, including many of the Siamese who came to Oxford.

In the meantime he was contributing to the efficient working of the university in other unobtrusive but none the less useful ways. At his initiative the *University Gazette*, an official record of acts and proceedings, was started, and he became its first editor in 1870. Not much later he brought out the first edition of the *Student's Handbook*, a practical guide to the university. In 1884 he was appointed secretary to the Boards of Faculties, another responsible office.

In this manner he naturally acquired a close familiarity with the details of university administration. Even in his undergraduate days he had already, as we have seen, begun to reflect upon the state of things around him, and his thought matured as time went on. He was intensely possessed with the desire to make the university a place of really scientific education, though no one could be more free from pedantry in the way in which he sought to carry out this end. And yet, to confess the truth, although he was not backward in expressing his opinions, he had not, at least for a long time, all the influence in university matters which he deserved. Parliamentary history abounds

with examples of the same thing : some men catch the ear of the house, and others of equal or even greater ability do not. The prophet who would be listened to must have the art to conceal his mission, and this Hatch did not altogether succeed in doing. He came by degrees to be better understood, but it was a slow process.

In his own subject too he was very much a *vox clamantis in deserto*. All his spare time he spent in the Bodleian, gradually amassing those stores of learning of which only a part was ever to be communicated. Yet there were but few congenial spirits to cheer or sympathise with him. We cannot help thinking of that magnificent image in which Wordsworth speaks of Newton as

“a mind
Voyaging through waste seas of thought, alone.”

There were indeed some, and those among the few whose opinion he must have prized most highly, who recognised his powers. Mark Pattison was one of these. And the Master of Balliol was his fast friend. But community of subject was not easy to find. The reader who has the courage to face the mass of facts and references in articles like those on “Holy Orders,” “Ordination,” “Priest,” in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* will understand what they must have cost in collecting. In Hatch’s skilful handling they ceased to be dry; but the sources from which they were obtained were the reverse of what would commonly be thought inviting.

But Hatch was not of a nature to be dependent upon outside sympathy. He worked on with friends, few or many, τῷ τέλει πίστιν φέρων. It was through the interests which we had in common that he and I were first drawn together. In those days I had a little living in the country, within easy reach of Oxford; and more than once Hatch gave me welcome help in my Sunday duties. He

then broached to me a grand scheme which he entertained for a joint commentary on the New Testament. It was to embrace a number of workers, some of them specialists in their several departments. The rest of us were either to digest the opinions of others, or to contribute original material of our own. Hatch himself was to take the philology. An attempt was made, and a few verses at the beginning of St. Luke were put into print; but the scheme was too grand for our resources at that time, and it did not go any further. I believe that this would be about 1875. Even then Hatch had made considerable collections bearing on the philology of the New Testament, and more particularly with reference to the gospels and Acts. Sooner or later he would no doubt have worked up these. There are among his papers rough notes, not however continuous, on a great part of the Gospel of St. Matthew, on some five chapters of St. Mark, and on the beginning of St. Luke. Besides these, there is a good deal of material, mainly lexicographical, covering the whole of the gospels and Acts. This would, I should think, be quite worth publishing, whether the references were new or old, because Hatch repeated nothing parrot-wise, but always examined afresh what he set down. It is greatly to be regretted that he has not left more in the nature of a commentary. His terse, clear style and freshness of apprehension would have qualified him admirably for such work. On questions of text, I believe that he was still in a rather tentative stage. On the larger questions of New Testament criticism he expressed himself to a certain extent in the articles, "Paul," "Peter (Epistles of)," "Pastoral Epistles," contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. These articles (especially that on St. Paul) exhibit much both of their author's ability and of his power of looking at old facts in a new light; still they were written, I believe, with some reluctance, in response to editorial

pressure ; they were put together more or less *ad hoc* ; and they rather reflect the total impression of English, and still more foreign, criticism than convey his own deliberate and matured opinions to the same extent as his other writings. From this point of view, the summing-up is rather unfavourable to the genuineness of the pastoral epistles and 2 St. Peter.

In speaking of these contributions to the study of the New Testament, I have followed an order of subject rather than of time. The first work in which Hatch came before the world prominently as a theologian was in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* ; and not so much in the first volume (1876), as in the second, which appeared in 1880. In this volume Hatch succeeded to the class of subjects which in the first had been assigned to Mr. A. W. Haddan, another genuine scholar, cut off by death in 1873. Mr. Haddan was one of the most learned and scientific of the Tractarian party ; but when the subjects which he had left fell into the hands of Hatch, it was clear that they were being dealt with by a specialist. If he had done nothing else, his reputation might rest secure upon these articles. They were models of all that work of the kind should be.

Contributions to a dictionary may make the name of a scholar among scholars, but they will hardly render him famous to the outer world. It was given to Hatch to "burst into sudden blaze," not through them, but through the Bampton Lectures delivered in the same year 1880, and published in the year following. These made a great sensation, the echoes of which have not yet died away. It was only to be expected that utterances which touched so many tender points should arouse at once enthusiastic approval and vehement condemnation. To-day they can be judged more fairly. And although it is certainly not to be supposed that they are the last word upon the

subject, yet by the collection and grouping of new material, and by the bold, if tentative, lines in which these hypotheses are drawn, it is probable that they mark an advance second to none which has been made in the present century. "In any case," said Dr. Weizsäcker in regard to them, "the lectures possess the value of an attempt in the true scientific style."¹

The author wisely refrained from replying to the criticisms passed upon him. Controversy for its own sake or on merely personal grounds had no attractions for him. He fully intended to return to the subject, but only when he could treat it in a broad and comprehensive way. It is however matter for great satisfaction that he was induced to put forth in 1887 the small volume entitled *The Growth of Church Institutions* as a sort of pioneer to the larger work which he was meditating. It was only a reprint of magazine articles; but few men could write such articles—articles which showed so strong a grasp and such power of drawing out the leading threads of a complicated inquiry. I could not help thinking that in one chapter, that on tithes, there were some disputable propositions; but these formed, as in the *Bampton Lectures* they really formed, only a small proportion of the whole, and they left a large amount of luminous exposition for which the student cannot be too grateful.

The two books just mentioned obtained an honour which is rare in English theological literature, that of translation into German. An additional value was given to them by the fact that the translator, Dr. Harnack, was himself, as the readers of THE EXPOSITOR well know, one of the foremost of German theologians. Not being able to find a translator exactly after his mind, he determined to do the work himself. "I have not for an instant," he says, "regretted this decision, because while I became thus outwardly acquainted

¹ *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1883, col. 440.

with the books, while I slowly followed the author's arguments and tested his evidence, the high excellence of these researches became more and more clear to me. It was no pleasure to me to lay down the work; for with it ceased those silent dialogues which in the evenings for several months together I had carried on with the author, and which had been to me a source of manifold instruction and suggestion."

Dr. Harnack has always spoken of his English friend in this warmhearted and generous manner.¹

The year which followed the publication of the Bampton saw Hatch elected to the Grinfield Lectureship on the Septuagint, a little foundation which, though useful in its object, is unfortunate and ineffective in its working. Practically limited as it is at most to a term of four years, and providing only for a single lecture in each term, it encourages a scholar to take up the subject, only to make him lay it down again, as he is beginning to be at home in it. Hatch's tenure of this office had more tangible results than that of any of his predecessors. These are seen in the volume of *Essays on Biblical Greek* published last year. In judging this work two things should be borne in mind: first, that the author is not looking at his subject historically, but rather with reference to the ideal of what such studies as he was undertaking should be; and, secondly, that he aims not so much at summing up the results already attained, as at contributing to those results something fresh and original of his own. The first of these considerations will, I think, account for his seeming disparagement of previous work, and the second for the apparent incompleteness of parts of his own. Work done under such conditions as those of the Grinfield Lectures could hardly be otherwise than incomplete; but fresh, original, and stimulating

¹ See especially a letter quoted by Dr. Cheyne in the *Oxford Magazine* of Nov. 26th, 1889.

in a high degree the essays certainly are, and no future student of the subject can afford to disregard them. At times they are perhaps a little too paradoxical.¹ I believe that the essays are to be reviewed by the one writer who is most competent to put an exact estimate upon them, Dr. Hort.

With Hatch the study of the Septuagint was no mere *πάρεργον*. He had long been engaged in the preparation of an elaborate new Concordance, the first *fasciculus* of which is likely soon to be issued from the Clarendon Press. Carried out on the scale on which it was projected, this work will not need doing over again. It is not based merely upon the printed editions, but on a careful collation of the leading uncials, which the editor had made with his own hands. It also took note of the remains of the other translators collected by Dr. Field. This work is, I believe, so well launched, that its completion is secured. It is perhaps that by which twenty or fifty years hence its originator will be best remembered. Some work is absorbed in the onward progress of science; other work remains as indispensable as when it was first published. Hatch's Concordance will belong to the latter category; it will be the foundation of countless studies yet to come.

With the Bampton Lectures, or rather with the articles in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, began a stream of publications, and along with these the evidence of rapidly rising reputation. In 1883 Hatch received the distinction of an honorary D.D. from the University of Edinburgh; and in the same year he was nominated by Oriel to the living of Purleigh, in Essex, long associated with the headship of the college. A year later he was made Reader in Ecclesiastical History. The last was a truly congenial office, in which, like a well-instructed scribe, he began to draw out of his

¹ The present writer has expressed his own opinion more fully in two articles in the *Academy*, 1882, March 2nd, p. 152 f.; April 27th, p. 288 f.

treasures things new and old. The courses of lectures which he had delivered up to the time of his death were, I believe, four: two smaller, on the Epistles of St. Clement and on the Carolingian Reformation; two larger, on the Early Liturgies and on the growth of Canon Law. Of all these lectures the rough copies remain, and may perhaps admit of publication, though there can be no doubt that he would have greatly improved and enlarged them if he had been spared. He was constantly at work upon them. For the lectures on Canon Law in particular he had amassed a great amount of material, drawing out in parallel columns all the extant versions of the early canons, and in many cases collating new MSS. of them. I rather question if Hatch was ever quite at his best in dealing with texts; but on the historical side his eye for minute changes and for indications of development was admirable. And the same power of concise and broad statement ran through all he did.

In 1888 he had on hand another important undertaking. It is very possible that in the future the Hibbert Lectures delivered in this year will take their place side by side with the Bamptons in their influence upon the course of scientific inquiry. I was unfortunately prevented by illness from hearing more than one of the lectures, and I have not as yet had the opportunity of making any close study of them; still it may be well perhaps to guard against a misapprehension that may arise in respect to them. The subject as announced by the publishers is "Greek Influence on Christianity." I should not be surprised if a sensitive Christian conscience were to look with suspicion upon such a title; it might expect to see truths which it regards as fundamental explained away as expressions of Hellenism. Such fears appear to me groundless, and a robust faith will not, I think, be disturbed by them. Christianity itself is one thing, the outward expression of

Christianity in forms of human thought and in human institutions is another. The one may change; the other does not change. We feel that deep down throughout the ages there has been a principle at work which from time to time has clothed itself in a different garb, and which in consequence strikes the outward eye differently, but which is not more really affected by these variations than the human personality is affected by the various dressings which it assumes in different climates or at different seasons. Or perhaps some metaphor is needed which takes account of a still closer connexion between form and substance. The body takes into itself and assimilates various kinds of food. It transmutes into its own substance things to all appearance utterly unlike itself. And the same process of transmutation and assimilation has been always going on in the Christian Church. No two ages are really alike, though a "natural piety" binds them all together. The "environment," to use a hackneyed term, is constantly changing; and a process of absorption and adaptation takes place between the environment and that formative force, that principle of inner identity, which, like the vital germ, is transmitted throughout the descending series.

The relation of outward and inward is, no doubt, extremely subtle. It is often impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins. In the human frame we may lop off a limb or obliterate a feature, and the personal identity may remain uninjured; but we may also do this once too often, and then the personal being itself sickens and dies. That which goes into the body may be weighed and analysed, and that may bring us a step nearer to understanding how the body is composed; but we shall still be a long way from having sounded all its spiritual activities. In like manner the conditions of society at any given time, whether intellectual, moral, or social, may be described and investigated. This may help us to appre-

ciate the way in which some new force moves amongst them ; it may help us to understand the manifestations of that force as it incorporates with itself first one and then another ; but it is a different thing to say that the force itself has been gauged or resolved into its elements. A wise man will hesitate long before he will make such an assertion.

It will perhaps be well to bear these considerations in mind when the Hibbert Lectures appear. Dr. Hatch, I feel sure, would wish them to be borne in mind, though he may perhaps have reserved for the unwritten preface the fuller statement of them. He would not have exaggerated the bearing of his own researches, interesting and penetrating as they doubtless are. He was following out, though I believe quite independently, a line of inquiry recently pursued with great vigour and acumen by his friend Harnack, who, in turn, I rather suspect, received his impulse from Ritschl. Similar investigations are in progress on more sacred ground still. Every year our knowledge seems to increase of the conditions at work, not only in the second and third centuries, but also in the first and in the pre-Christian epoch. We may, I think, welcome that knowledge. The temple itself had its court of the Gentiles and its court of Israel ; and yet the holy place was no less holy.

I have spoken of the larger works, published or to be published, which occupied Hatch during the period of less than a decade, which was all that was given him for mature production. I have said nothing of a host of articles, sermons, addresses, which flowed from his pen. To these must be added the hymns or sacred poems with which from time to time he found utterance for feelings not adequately expressed in any other way. A little volume of these has just been published,¹ and will touch

¹ *Towards Fields of Light. Sacred Poems.* By Rev. Edwin Hatch, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. 6d.)

the hearts of lovers of sacred poetry, besides giving a glimpse into the innermost life of the man. He was never idle; at least, his only moments of idleness were those of sheer physical incapacity or exhaustion. This "poor little body,"¹ which has been a sore trouble to scholars of all kinds from Origen downwards, will have its revenges. Certainly *curare cutem* was no motto for Edwin Hatch. His daily exercise for a great part of the year did not extend beyond his walks backwards and forwards to the Bodleian and to the Faculties' Office. His mornings were spent in study; his afternoons in meetings of boards and committees. Then there was the wear and tear involved in his double residence at Oxford and Purleigh. It is not surprising under the circumstances that he should have had symptoms of failing health. Composition, which as a rule came so readily, he found an effort. He tried to clear his brain by one or two hurried journeys to the continent, but with no great success. Still no one suspected serious mischief. He began the term's work as usual, taking an active part in the ceremonies of the opening of Mansfield College, in which he was warmly interested; but in about a fortnight he caught a chill, which he hoped soon to throw off. However heart attacks came on, which in a few days were complicated with pleurisy; and even those around him had hardly time to realize the danger when the end came, on the evening of Sunday, November 10th. Four days later the silent and mournful procession of friends from far and near—of friends who had stood in the ranks by his side, and of others, no less friends, who had stood in the ranks against him—was wending its way through the quiet Holywell churchyard. All around spoke of the peace which his strong, single-minded, wide-ranging spirit had found; and the tempered autumn radiance seemed also like a smile

¹ τὸ σωματίον: Origen *ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 9.

from heaven upon a career finished in the sight of God, whatever it might appear in the sight of men.

With that peace and with that radiance upon his grave let us leave him, with no querulous comparisons of the work done with that which seems to us undone. If we had not a Christian's faith to fall back upon, our hearts might well sink within us. Edersheim, Evans, Simcox, Hatch, Elmslie, Macfadyen, Lightfoot, all in one short year lost to English theology and to English religion; lost at a time when the noblest opportunities seemed to be within reach of both, and when the best and wisest seemed needed to guide us to the fitting use of them. This is not an ordering of events of which we can take the measure. But it is the ordering of One who has more instruments than we wot of in His armoury, and who trains the servants whom He leaves by the examples and by the teaching of those whom He has withdrawn.¹

"All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close."

W. SANDAY.

¹ It may be mentioned that funds are being raised in memory of two of those to whom reference is made in this paragraph. That to the memory of Dr. Hatch is to be placed in the hands of trustees for the benefit of his widow and family. The subscriptions already received or promised amount to between £900 and £1,000. Further subscriptions will be gladly acknowledged either by the Principal of St. Mary Hall, who is treasurer of the fund, or by the writer of this (at 12, Canterbury Road, Oxford), who is acting as secretary; or they may be paid into the Old Bank, Oxford. The treasurer of the fund in memory of Prof. Elmslie is Mr. G. Walter Knox, 16, Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.

*JEHOVAH RESTING :**ISAIAH'S CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.*

(ISA. XVIII., XIX., XX.)

FROM the thirteenth to the twenty-third chapters of Isaiah we have what may be called "The Book of the Nations." It is impossible to deal with these chapters as a whole. Some of them (chaps. xiii. and xiv.) were certainly not written by Isaiah, though grouped with others under his name; some of them (chaps. xv. and xvi.) were probably only edited by him, with possibly an appendix of his own; while each has its own date and historical setting. But here are three chapters (xviii., xix., and xx.) almost certainly from Isaiah's own hand, having a common theme, and forming together a sort of trilogy, if one may borrow a phrase from the Greek drama. The study of these three chapters may not only help us to understand the nature of the prophetic office, but may give us some insight into the conception formed by this particular prophet of the history transpiring around him.

On one side (N.E.) of Judæa, the scene of Isaiah's ministry, lay Assyria, rapidly advancing in power under its great kings Sargon and Sennacherib, organizing that vast empire which, more perhaps than any other the world has seen, might claim to be universal. On the other side (S.W.) of Judæa lay Egypt, with which these chapters deal. For many years the power of Egypt had been broken, the country divided into petty kingdoms, no one of which had any claim to supremacy, or could do more than barely maintain itself. But about this time a change took place, and Egypt reappears as one of the great powers of the East. South of Egypt proper lay what is now called the Soudan, anciently known as Ethiopia or Kush, a vast tract, in part stony and barren, but in part rich and fertile, and

well watered by the numerous streams which feed the Nile. The inhabitants of this land are spoken of by the Greek historian as μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι, *i.e.* tallest and handsomest of men: a description singularly parallel to Isaiah's. The prophet speaks of them as scattered and peeled (*m'mushak, m'orat*): scattered, *lit.* drawn out, *i.e.* tall, and peeled, *i.e.* polished,—tall and beautiful; while their land is aptly described as (not "spoiled" but) cut up, divided, intersected by rivers. About the year 750 B.C. this vast Ethiopian land was governed by a ruler called Piankhi, who, tempted by the disorganized condition of the country, pushed northwards down the Nile, and succeeded in the course of twenty years in reuniting Egypt under his sway. He is the founder of what is known as the Ethiopian dynasty of Egyptian kings, two of whom, Shabak (or Sô), and Tirhakha are familiar by name to Bible students. Thus once again Egypt and Assyria stood facing each other, each preparing for the mortal conflict which ensued, while Judæa lay trembling between them, the inevitable battlefield on which the great duel must be fought out. The Egyptian kings were no match for their foes, and naturally sought to strengthen themselves by alliances, and specially to secure outworks or ramparts in the shape of defenced and allied cities, which might ward off the struggle for a time and give them a chance to gather strength. Thus we read (2 Kings xvii. 4) that Hoshea, the last king of Samaria, ceased to pay tribute to Assyria, and sent messengers to the king of Egypt, *i.e.* formed a defensive alliance with Egypt. The consequence of this was the siege of Samaria, which fell after a spirited defence of three years; while its faithless ally, the Egyptian king, sat still, and did nothing, well pleased that the Assyrian power should break itself like the waves of the sea against this outer barrier of rock, leaving smooth waters inshore for Egypt to ride on. Again in 720 B.C., only three years later, we find Egypt in alliance

with Gaza, a strong Philistian city; but with no better results.

"Sabhi trusted in his forces, and came to meet me to offer me battle. I called upon the great god Asshur, my lord. I smote them. Sabhi fled with a shepherd who kept sheep, and escaped. Hanno I took prisoner. All that he possessed I carried away to Assyria, and I laid waste and destroyed his cities and burned them with fire."¹

Again:

"Hanno, king of Gaza, with Sibichus, king of Egypt, came to battle against me [*i.e.* Sargon] at Raphia. I put them to flight. Sibichus could not resist the attack of my servants. He fled, and his footsteps were not seen."

This defeat was followed by a peace between Assyria and Egypt, the record of which is still to be read on a lump of clay discovered by Layard in Nineveh, and now in the British Museum. Affixed to the clay are the twin seals of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs. Once again, in 709 B.C., we find Egypt in alliance with Ashdod, another Philistian city, with still more disastrous results. Here is the story as Sargon tells it:

"Azuri, the king of Ashdod, hardened his heart against payment of tribute. He sent to the kings his neighbours messages hostile to Assyria. I prepared vengeance. I raised his brother Ahimit to his place on the throne. The people revolted and refused his rule. They put themselves under Yaman, who was not the rightful possessor of the throne. In the anger of my heart I marched with my warriors against Ashdod. I besieged. I took Ashdod and Gimt-Ashdodim, with the gods which inhabit these cities. I took the gold and silver and all that was in his palace. Then I restored these cities. I placed people whom I had subjugated in them. I put my viceroy over them, treated them as Assyrian, and they were obedient."

Again:

"When Yaman heard of my campaign against the land of the Chatti, the fear of Asshur my lord overcame him. He fled to the borders of Egypt, to the border-land of Meroe; to a distant place he fled, and his hiding-place was not discovered."

¹ See Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, vol. iii. See also *Les Inscriptions des Sargonides*, by Oppert.

By the fall of Ashdod Egypt was thrown open to the Assyrian advance. But worse happened. Yaman, the king of Ashdod, fled to Egypt, but was put in chains and handed over to the Assyrian king by his false-hearted ally, who was content, by such an act of treachery, to ward off still further the day of reckoning from his own land. Such was the condition of things, such the state of Egypt during the years of Isaiah's ministry. With these facts before us, we can easily understand the opposition with which Isaiah met any talk among his countrymen of an Egyptian alliance, and the scorn with which he treated the childish idea that Zion might fare better at Egypt's hands than Samaria or Ashdod had done.* Now we may examine the chapters before us one by one.

In chapter xviii. Isaiah turns to Ethiopia, "the land of the whirring of wings," as he calls it, with reference to its insects, probably also to the whirring or clashing of its armed men, which these suggested. He sees the Egyptian vessels, light papyrus boats, darting across the Mediterranean waves, hither and thither on their way to stir up the nations, and organize a vast defensive league against Assyria. He acknowledges the gravity of the crisis, but he cannot share in the panic which has smitten this great nation to its heart. He bids them return to their people and the king who has sent them, with the message that Jehovah can defend His own cause without the help of man. When the time comes He is never wanting. The figure Isaiah uses is striking and powerful. Like the heat-haze with which we are familiar on a summer day, or the night-mist which in Eastern lands does so much to refresh the earth and further vegetation during the hot season, Jehovah's presence *rests* on the earth, causing things, if one may so say, to ripen; ready at the proper time, like the vinedresser or harvester, with keen edge or glittering scythe, to strike in and lay low all that may oppose Him. "Thus saith the

Lord unto me, I will take My rest, I will consider in My dwelling-place like clear heat upon herbs, and like a cloud of dew (*i.e.* mist) in the heat of harvest. For afore the harvest, when the blossom is over and the flower becomes a ripening grape, He shall cut off the sprigs with pruning-hooks and the spreading branches shall He take away and cut down " (vers. 4 and 5). Such an interposition, so manifestly Divine in its suddenness and thoroughness, must (as it seems to the prophet) still further issue in the conversion of those distant lands. " In that day shall a present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people tall and smooth, . . . to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the Mount Zion " (ver. 7). .

We turn now to chapter xx., which comes next in the order of time. Egypt did not accept the prophet's advice, the messengers did not return. The great battle of Raphia followed, with its disastrous defeat, and, still later, the fall of Ashdod and the treacherous surrender of her allied king. Judah had a special interest in the fall of Ashdod, which throws a vivid light upon this chapter. In the previous year (710 ?) Hezekiah had received an embassy from Mero-dach-Baladan, the high-souled adventurer of Babylon, who, after ten years of ceaseless intrigue and twelve years of energetic and prosperous rule, was preparing for the inevitable struggle with the Assyrian oppressor. He too depended for support upon his allies, and sent these messengers to Hezekiah, nominally to congratulate him on his recovery from sickness, but really to invite him to join with neighbouring kingdoms in a defensive alliance. Hezekiah, as we know, was not unfavourable, and with royal courtesy threw open his palace to the inspection of his guests. But Isaiah, adhering to his policy of consistent non-intervention, opposed the league, and the king was forced to yield an unwilling assent to the views of his

powerful minister. That it was an unwilling assent is plain; for the next year Hezekiah did actually engage in treasonable correspondence with the kings of Egypt and Ashdod, and brought on himself the displeasure of his Assyrian lord. The fall of Ashdod was therefore a blow to the opposition party in Jerusalem, whose programme consisted of one item, the proposed alliance with Egypt. But it was more. To Isaiah the fall of Ashdod was the beginning of the end. He foresees Egypt also overrun by the foe and carried captive, naked and barefoot, to their shame. Politicians are seldom slow—least of all during an election campaign—to make capital out of an opponent's defeat: and in Isaiah's case we must remember how really politics and religion are one. He determines to make the most of the fall of Ashdod. Donning the sackcloth, the garb of a mourner, he traverses the streets of the capital, wailing out the loud lament which he puts into the mouths of his fellow countrymen, "the men of this coast": "Lo, such is our expectation, whither we flee for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria: and how shall we escape?" The lesson he will impress on them is the impossibility of outwitting or hoodwinking Jehovah, the impotence of any intrigue or alliance, any Ashdod, to arrest even for an hour the inevitable, the awful judgment which Jehovah had bidden on the earth. "And how shall we escape?" Time after time the cry rang through the streets of the giddy but now stricken city, brought face to face with ruin: just as they do still ring in men's ears at times when the thin veil we hang between ourselves and the unseen is rent asunder, and we are brought face to face with death or judgment.

Chapter xix. follows. It is quite certain that this chapter is of a later date than the others: and even if its genuineness be doubtful—supposing we regard it as the work of a later hand, a disciple of the prophet—yet we may take it as

representing Isaiah's latest and maturest views regarding Egypt. But really there is no reason to doubt its Isaianic authorship. One expects "last words" from such lips on a theme like this; and, as Cheyne says, "we can hardly imagine a more swan-like ending for the dying prophet" than these verses give. Let us glance at the chapter. The Assyrian has advanced, and at last Egypt itself is the prey. The prophet foresees it all: the central power broken, the petty kings risen against each other, caste defiled, wise men become as fools. The Nile, the symbol of prosperity, is dried up: the fish perish, the reeds wither, and all the domestic industry which depends on them is stayed (ver. 9). Egypt is given over unto the hands of a "cruel lord," *i.e.* the Assyrian. Yet in this extremity of distress hope dawns for her. This hour of sore travail witnesses the birth of a new Egypt. Smitten with terror, her eyes turn to Zion, and Jehovah who dwells there. This glance, humbled, beseeching, is followed by conversion. "Five cities in the land of Egypt shall speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts": one of them so utterly destroying its idols as to win for itself the name, "The City of Destruction" (ver. 18). Both the numbers here (five and one) are symbolic; *e.g.* "a thousand shall flee at the rebuke of *one*, at the rebuke of *five* shall ye flee." It is therefore quite unnecessary to find in the verse either a play on the words ("*cheres*" being rendered "*heres*"), or a reference to the later history of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, with its Jewish temple. The latter lies altogether beyond the prophet's horizon; and exegesis, which deals with the text only, finds that here at least the text explains itself.

Thus smiting, Jehovah heals. And thereon follows peace. Egypt and Assyria, no longer enemies, unite with Judah, hitherto their field of battle, in the worship of the one true Lord: and a blessing from Jehovah Himself rests on

all the three. We have seen how, following on the fall of Ashdod, the Egyptian king delivered up his ally in arms, and made peace with the Assyrians. We have seen too that the record of a similar peace, made about this very time, has been discovered, with the twin seals of Assyria and Egypt affixed. Few things could be more interesting than this discovery, or throw a clearer light on the closing verses of this chapter. How could Isaiah ever dream a dream like this of universal peace: Assyria and Egypt, mortal foes from the beginning, swearing friendship thus? So we are ready to ask, somewhat sceptically. The answer is, at the very time this chapter was written the thing was done, done repeatedly; and the proof is before your eyes. For the prophets were not dreamers. They always start from facts, the fact in this case represented by the lump of clay with the royal seals affixed. But observe how, starting from facts as history does, prophecy differs from history; how it leaves far behind it the bare facts as of no importance beyond the hour, and rises, as by inspiration only, into the region of spiritual laws and eternal principles; sees in a dishonourable, flimsy peace patched up between two kings, one a tyrant, the other a traitor, to allow them breathing space, the forecast of a real and enduring peace, based on principle, not on prudence, prefaced by the conversion of both lands, a peace the records of which should be preserved in no earthly palace, but among the archives of Jehovah's court.

So much for the history. Now then let us notice what is for us of commanding interest in these three chapters, the prophet's *conception* of history, or, to put it otherwise, of God in history. "For so the Lord said unto me, I will take My rest" (chap. xviii. 4)—Jehovah resting. This is the rest of God's holy judgments.

Every one has noticed how the course of justice too often

runs among men : how old abuses are tolerated with utter want of thought till the conscience or heart of the people is roused ; and how often *then* the result is a hot haste of revenge, a severity which is just as cruel and unjust in its way as the injustice it is meant to rectify, without consideration or compensation allowed for the innocent suffering it involves. Thus human history seems to be a perpetual oscillation ; perfect justice is seldom or never reached except by some happy accident, or for a moment, in the transition from one extreme to another of injustice. How different, the prophet feels, it is with Jehovah ! In Him you have the perfect self-restraint of adequate knowledge and power, of love that is passionless in its intensity. In Him is no bias nor any haste ; but, as the result, that quiet, even-handed, universal justice which men seek for all in vain from one another. There is no hurry in God's judgments. *Ohne hast, ohne rast* : without stay or stir, He moves forward to His ends. Four centuries must pass, because the Canaanites, a petty tribe, are not yet ripe for judgment : yet even Assyria, with all her youthful vigour, may not hope to escape. Such is the prophet's conception of history : Jehovah resting ; an open eye that quietly surveys, notes all ; a hand that holds the reins of power, yet gives to human freedom its play ; a providence which makes the restless sea of human passions, blind, furious, cruel, its pathway, and moves, or rather *rests*, in its own eternal purpose that embraces all. How little do we grasp this thought ! how little does the quiet of eternity fill our lives or even influence our judgment ! Take any of the vexed questions of human history : man's sin, earth's sorrow. Why should this be ? How is this consistent with what we believe of God ? Nay ; these weary problems, which have worn away the heart of so many generations, are to God the momentary statement of a question. He rests, that when once the question is fairly stated, it

may receive from Him its adequate and final solution. God keeps silence; whereon, to ninety-nine per cent. of men, the inference is plain: there is no God. Not so. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." But the harvest must come first; and, like Isaiah's heat-haze or night-mist, Jehovah rests, lets the evil ripen. In His time, like lightning from the cloud, like the flashing of the mower's scythe, judgment comes. Judgment must come; but the case must be stated, tried first: each day must bear witness, the life pronounce sentence against itself; and then, doom. "Thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set in order before thine eyes." Surely there is in this thought much to comfort the pious heart, specially while there is so much in the affairs of our country and in the prospects of Christ's Church fitted to alarm. One thing will keep us calm all through: the faith Isaiah had as he saw the swift messengers gleaming across the waves on their restless search for human help, as he heard the tramp of hosts, and felt the heart of a great people tremble,—Jehovah is resting: that faith shared with him, and so well expressed by our own great poet:

"One adequate support
For the calamities of mortal life
Exists, one only: an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, howe'er
Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power,
Whose overlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good."

It is said that at the heart of the whirlwind there is always a point of absolute rest. If you could find that, and keep yourself just there, you might move with the storm and smile at the havoc. In those great whirlwinds which sweep over the lands, moral and social upheavals, there is

always one point of rest. At the heart of every one of them is a Divine purpose, and Jehovah rests. Find that point, and keep it; by faith you enter into rest. "And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full. And He was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow." *There* is the point of rest. They creep close to Him, they waken Him. He has risen, He has rebuked the winds, and said unto the sea, "Peace, be still. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm."

J. R. GILLIES.

THE WATERS OF LIFE.

(JOHN VII. 37-39.)

THE closing festival of the Jews' sacred year was its greatest and most joyous one. It was the national harvest home of an agricultural people, after both the corn and the vintage had been safely gathered. To observe such a season of thanksgiving with cheerfulness was a religious duty. "Because Jehovah thy God shall bless thee in all thine increase, and in all the works of thine hands," so ran the ancient statute, "therefore thou shalt surely rejoice."¹ So Jerusalem put on its gayest looks to welcome the pilgrims who flocked from far and near. Every man on his flat house-top, or in its shady court, set up a booth, built of boughs from the pine tree, with olive and myrtle intertwined. Similar sylvan tents for the country folk filled every spare space on the streets or round the walls; and there the population dwelt and made merry for seven long idle holidays. Hospitality and social gatherings were endless. They held festive assemblies, and feasted and sent each other "portions," and made great mirth, as their

¹ See Exod. xxiii. 16 and Deut. xvi. 13 and Lev. xxiii. 33 ff.

fathers had done before them.¹ Nor was the jocund spirit of the season confined to social or family parties. Even in God's house His people came to prayer with citrons in their hands and palm branches wreathed with myrtle. Every day peculiar sacrifices were offered on the altar. The temple rang with vocal and instrumental music. At each sunset while the feast lasted, they lit huge gilt candelabra in its courts, which shed over all the city a soft yellow light. At each sunrise, "while the morning's sacrifice was being prepared, a priest, accompanied by a joyous procession with music, went down to the Pool of Siloam, whence he drew water into a golden pitcher. . . . At the same time that the procession started for Siloam, another went to a place in the Kedron valley close by, called Motza, whence they brought willow branches which, amidst the blasts of the priests' trumpets, they stuck on either side of the altar of burnt-offering, bending them over towards it, so as to form a kind of leafy canopy. Then the ordinary sacrifice proceeded, the priest who had gone to Siloam so timing it that he returned just as his brethren carried up the pieces of the sacrifice to lay them on the altar. As he entered by the Water Gate, which received its name from this ceremony, he was received by a threefold blast from the priests' trumpets. The priest then went up the rise of the altar and turned to the left, where there were two silver basins with narrow holes—the eastern a little wider for the wine and the western somewhat narrower for the water. Into these the wine of the drink-offering was poured, and at the same time the water from Siloam, the people shouting to the priest, 'Raise thy hand,' to show that he really poured the water into the basin which led to the base of the altar."²

¹ Neh. viii.

² Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ*, p. 241.

I have extracted this account from Dr. Edersheim's useful little volume on the ritual of the temple in our Lord's day, because it enables us very vividly to realize the circumstances under which Jesus stood and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink." Whatever that ceremony meant, it appeared to spring out of some unsatisfied religious need. Coming after the round of the ecclesiastical year was complete, it seemed to say that, in spite of the annual atonement and of the joy of tabernacles, there was still at the heart of Israel a thirst which ritual could not slake. Yet it told also of provision for the soul's requirements. After all there was water. It came out of the very heart of the temple rock, from underneath God's altar, whence it flowed in a perennial stream "hard by the oracle of God" to make glad His holy city. To the Hebrew that sacred spring had long served for a symbol or a prophecy of the spiritual river of life which should one day issue from the heart of Israel's ritual to satisfy the longing soul. Even the rabbinical divines explained it as a promise of that long looked for day when Jehovah would at last fulfil the desire of His people and shed forth through His Anointed the abundance of His Holy Spirit. Four of the ancient prophets had concurred in figuring the blessings of Messiah's day under similar imagery. First, Joel had said, "a fountain should come forth out of the house of Jehovah to water the vale" of the lower Jordan. Next, Isaiah had foretold in glowing language that in that day Israel should "draw water with joy out of the wells of salvation"; and to his words it is possible that the ceremony (which possessed no other scriptural sanction) may have owed its origin. Later on, Ezekiel had seen in vision how the waters issued from under the temple threshold, and flowing eastward, grew to a river which went down into the same desert valley and healed the Salt Sea, till its barren shores from Ain-Jidy to Ain-Eglaim yielded trees

of fadeless leaf for healing and of perennial fruit for food. Later still, Zechariah had enlarged the prophecy into living waters going out from Jerusalem, half of them toward the Mediterranean as well as half toward the eastern or Dead Sea.¹

It is possible that these remarkable utterances still await a more literal accomplishment at the period of Christ's return. But the Jews understood them to refer to the gracious days of their Messiah; and to these days with their spiritual blessings they were really making allusion when they shouted and waved palm branches as the waters of the golden jug flowed away from the side of the altar. Little they thought of it, I daresay, many of those who stood and shouted with the crowd that October morning; yet the ceremony was none the less a pathetic utterance given in symbol to the deepest longings and most sustaining hopes of the Hebrew people in its best times. Even in that crowd it might be presumed that there were a few who sympathised with the spiritual meaning of the ceremony. To them, ere they should depart on the morrow to hear no more from His own lips the offer of eternal life—to them, if perchance they will even now come unto Him and drink, does Jesus in His patient, yearning love address one more appeal. For, standing there among the dense crowd of lay worshippers as one of the people, He knows Himself to be the Fulfiller, to whom these ancient predictions pointed. He had come forth from above to realize the desire of all nations; to fill with life and comfort the thirsty souls of the whole earth; to satisfy those who cried in their need for divine life, and make the barrenness of our human world to become like a garden watered from an unfailing river of God. Strong in this consciousness, He lifts aloud

¹ See Joel iii. 18, Isa. xii. 3, Ezek. xlvii. 1–12, and Zech. xiv. 8. I have here assumed the unity of the book of Zechariah, but think it probable the later chapters are by a much earlier prophet.

His bold self-witness, sending His voice high above the murmurs of the throng, and startling the celebrants at the altar with the strange words, "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink!"

The words are old words, yet ever new. They are an echo of Isaiah's call: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!" They make the same offer which Jesus Himself had made to a lone woman by Jacob's Well, near the outset of His career. The closing chapter of Revelation takes up the offer to repeat it for the last time, and send it ringing down the generations of human change even to our own ears: "Let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely!"

It is an invitation larger and more generous than perhaps preachers always care to remember. To invite the thirsty among men is a very wide call indeed; for who is there that thirsteth not? It is not by any means in religious services alone (like the profitless ritual of later Judaism) that Jesus beholds the vain labour of souls who thirst. In the market, in the office, at court, at the bar, by the student's lamp and in the lady's boudoir; in men's severe toil to win, or in their feverish haste to spend; everywhere He meets those who are ignorant, to be sure, of their true wants, and still more forgetful of the true supply for them, yet testifying by their weary effort to hew out for themselves a cistern that they are athirst! Among the cultured, who have leisure and can make their own comfort a study, it will, I believe, be confessed that every pleasure in life leaves behind it a certain after-taste of dissatisfaction. Possibly that dissatisfaction may only occur at occasional moments of quiet reflection. Possibly it may only deepen as the years wear on into any distinct sense of disappointment with life. Still, it is there; and to it under every form does this voice of the Son of God make its appeal. Vague though it be and unconfessed, not consciously a

religious need, still He meets it with loving offer, who, sad and patient and pitiful, stands for ever by the side of life's broad road, accosting every wayfarer as he hurries or loiters by, "If any of you are athirst, come unto Me, and drink!" With what sublime self-confidence does He thus testify to His own ability to quench the deep and restless desires of the human heart! As the golden vase dipped into Siloam came up full, yet Siloam brimmed up no whit the less, so shalt thou, who art indeed no golden vase, but only an earthen pitcher, be filled full out of this exhaustless Saviour, of whose fulness we have all received.

But there is more behind. He had told the woman at the Samaritan well how the water He gave became as a fount that springeth up within to life eternal. For the life of God in man has a self-renewing and perennial virtue. In personal experience it prolongs itself to one's private refreshment; springs anew after apparent cessation or decrease, being fed as it is from a celestial fountain which no drought can dry up. Here our Lord carries the same thought one step further. He tells the holiday-makers that His Spirit of new life should be, not merely like a spring that wells up in blessing for the individual who receives it, but like a fountain-head of overrunning waters, which flow forth in streams to fertilize and gladden other men as well. In this feature of the new gospel of the Spirit, Jesus saw a fulfilment of sacred writ—possibly of those very passages I have cited above, about the river that flowed from the temple to heal the Salt Lake and fertilize its shores. At all events, it is no single text which He quotes in so many words; but He sums up the purport of a whole cluster of Old Testament predictions when He says, "He who believes in Me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his inmost being shall flow rivers of living water."

We do not need to be reminded how these words of His came to pass; how the few disciples whom He left behind

Him poured a tide of spiritual life to the frontiers of Palestine, and thence to the ends of the civilized earth ; how, in more recent times, a river of religious influence has issued from the heart of Christendom that is rapidly bearing spiritual healing and moral fruitfulness to every region of our globe. But when He spoke, this fulfilment of His words had not yet begun. The old religious life of Hebrew society possessed no such expansive character. A feeble streamlet did indeed issue from beneath her own altar on the sacred hill to water Judæa, adequate to sustain a measure of spiritual life in the nation, or at its best to make glad that little guarded city of God ; but, in spite of later proselytism by the scattered Hebrews, no one could say that its waters went forth in a river-like fulness of blessing to make alive the barren lands of heathendom, or to sweeten the dead salt sea of the Roman empire. This outflowing of young life to every land was to be the characteristic glory of Christ's new-covenant society ; and as yet, while He was speaking, it had not begun. He stood there the solitary bearer of the new impulse. The men who were gathered round Him had drunk of His spirit only for their personal satisfaction and nourishment in spiritual life : they had not yet begun to be to any great extent fertilizers of society. For that they needed to receive fresh power from above. St. John is enlightened by the unction that was upon him to expound to us this "dark saying" ; and he adds : "This spake He of the Spirit, which they that believed on Him were to receive : for the Spirit was not yet ; because Jesus was not yet glorified." That peculiarly abundant measure of the Holy Ghost's bestowal, which was to mark the opening era and make the disciples centres of a fresh and saving influence among mankind, had not yet been granted ; nor could it be, so long as the Saviour's work on man's behalf was not yet accomplished in His decease, and crowned by His resurrection to immortal

glory. But Pentecost came; and instantly (as we know) the little company was lifted into the might of enthusiastic missionary witness-bearing, and began to run over on every side with spiritual gladness and power. Then they who believed in the Messiah were turned into channels of His own living influence through which the blessing spread to others. Out of the bosom of that infant society there issued a stream which swelled into a great river, and is to-day overflowing the earth with its healing waters.

In the subsequent history of the Church is to be read the best commentary on these words. The lesson which it yields is this, that there has been inserted into human society by the gospel an imperishable life, which may indeed be choked, perverted, obstructed, enfeebled, but which perpetually springs up afresh to over-run and bless the nations. In how many instances has it brought to wild and waste human lives the order and fertility of a garden! In how many ways has it percolated through the social life of modern civilization, often unrecognised, to spread by degrees a healthier moral culture in regions before abandoned to unprofitableness or wasted by passion! Who shall foretell to us when all earth's moral deserts will be reclaimed, or all its Sodom seas made sweet? We at least have cause to give good heed that we welcome into our own lives the sacred healing influence from on high, the living waters of God's blessed Holy Spirit. Let each man see that through unbelief, or sloth, or cowardice, or preoccupation by the world, or preference for sinful indulgence, or sheer neglect, he offer no hindrance to His powerful saving work. Let each man drink deep of Christ's Spirit, that he too may, not only be kept full of goodness and joy in God, but also have something to spare, some rill of holy influence, for which another thirsty brother may find cause to give Heaven thanks. As for the Church of God, the gathered company of the faithful, ought it not to be giving

forth religious and moral healing on a still larger scale, not in rills but in a river; not like the hill-side spring, whose waters trickle faintly through the moss, betrayed only by its livelier green, but rather like some big lake far up among the mountains, which collects the streams from many a spring, then over-runs in a broad lapsing sheet of water to pour its blessings on the plains below, a river from its birth?

J. OSWALD DYKES.

THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

II. THE UNIVERSAL PURPOSE OF SALVATION.

IN a former paper I have discussed the term most frequently used by St. Paul to describe the future punishment of sin, viz. *destruction*; and have endeavoured to show that this word denotes utter and hopeless ruin. In one passage this destruction is spoken of as *eternal*. And we saw that this last word denotes either a period continuous with life, and thus involving finality, or a long period of time stretching backwards or forwards beyond the speaker's mental horizon. We found also a passage in which the Apostle speaks casually, but very solemnly, of destruction as being *the end* of some about whom he writes in tears.

This vein of teaching must now be supplemented and guarded by other passages which speak very clearly of God's purpose of salvation as universal. These will be found in the second, third, and fourth groups of the Pauline epistles.

In the great chapter on the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 22) we read that "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall

all be made alive." This categorical assertion demands now our careful study. The latter part of it Meyer understands to refer to the general resurrection, when "all that are in the graves will hear His voice, and will go forth; they who have done the good things, to resurrection of life; but they who have practised the bad things, to a resurrection of judgment."¹ For this interpretation he finds support in the word *each*, which at the beginning of the next verse seems to divide into two classes those who "in Christ will be made alive; but each in his own order." These classes Meyer supposes to be the good and the bad. This exposition is accepted in the main by Ellicott, and by Evans in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

It lies open, however, to what seems to me a fatal objection. The word *life* is never once used in the New Testament to describe the future state of the lost. When referring to existence beyond the grave, it is always, as in the passage just quoted from the Fourth Gospel, a specific term distinguishing the state of the saved from those who in the great day will be condemned. Ellicott reminds us that this word is frequently used to describe natural life on earth without thought of happiness or misery. He quotes 1 Corinthians xv. 36, where a seed cast into the ground is said not to be *made-alive* except it die; and Romans iv. 17, where God is said to "*make-alive* the dead." Meyer quotes also 2 Kings v. 7 (LXX.) where the king of Syria asks, "Am I God, to kill and to *make-alive*?" And Nehemiah ix. 6, "Thou *givest-life* to all things." But the passage we are discussing takes us beyond the limits of bodily existence on earth. And in that loftier sphere, the life and incorruption brought to light by the Gospel give to the word *life* a new and loftier significance. This nobler use of this common word is a conspicuous feature of the phraseology of the New Testament. And it must rule

¹ John v. 28, 29.

the significance of the passage before us. The lost will rise, not to life, but to a second death.

The word *each* at the beginning of verse 23 is explained by the latter part of the same verse. Two orders are mentioned, and these are arranged in a sequence of time : "Christ the firstfruit, then they that are Christ's." But we have no hint in the entire context of any other "order," nor any reference to the resurrection of the lost. In verse 24 we read of "all principality and all authority;" not, however, as being made alive, but as brought to naught. Moreover, although Christ will raise all men, it is utterly opposed to the thought and phrase of St. Paul to speak of men "without Christ" as being "made alive *in Christ*." These sacred words describe ever an inward relation to Christ shared only by those who are inwardly united to Him and find in Him their spiritual home.

All this is recognised by Edwards, who understands the first *all* to include all men and limits the second *all* to the saved. But he does little or nothing to remove the difficulty involved in giving a different compass to the same word in the parallel clauses of the same verse. Godet recognises the difficulties of both sides; and prefers apparently, with hesitation, the exposition of Meyer.

Some other commentators and writers, unable to give to the word *made-alive* any but a good meaning, and to the word *all* a wider and narrower meaning in the same verse, have accepted this passage as a categorical assertion that all men will ultimately be saved. But inasmuch as this chapter refers specially, and as it seems to me exclusively, to the resurrection on the day of Christ's return, this exposition would imply, or at least suggest, that on that day all men will enter into the full enjoyment of life eternal; in absolute contradiction to 1 Thessalonians v. 3, 2 Thessalonians i. 9, John v. 29, and much other express teaching in the New Testament.

From these various interpretations let us now turn to St. Paul's own words. He has asserted in verse 18 that if there be no uprising of dead men, they who have been laid to sleep in Christ have perished. They have lost all that is worth having. And men who, like the Apostle, have sacrificed everything for a hope in Christ are of all men most to be pitied. These suggestions he rejects with a triumphant assertion that Christ has risen, a firstfruit of the sleeping ones. He refers evidently only to those mentioned in verse 18 who sleep in Christ. Now the word *firstfruit* suggests a harvest to follow. This suggestion St. Paul supports by saying that, just as through man comes death, also through man comes resurrection of dead men. This he confirms by a more definite assertion: "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ will all be made alive." Throughout the whole chapter he thinks only of the dead in Christ and of resurrection only as a gateway to eternal life. Indeed in this same chapter he makes emphatic and reiterated assertions which indisputably are true only of the servants of Christ. Without any further limitation, still writing about "the resurrection of the dead," he says in verse 43: "It is raised in incorruption . . . in glory . . . in power." Whatever be the ultimate destiny of the lost, none who accept the teaching of the New Testament can suppose that these words describe the lot awaiting them at the coming of Christ.

Now in all human discourse universal terms are limited by the speaker's mental horizon. Beyond that horizon they have no validity to assert or to deny. And in this chapter the unsaved lie altogether outside the writer's thought. Writing as a believer in Christ to fellow-believers, he thinks only of those who abide in Christ and will share His glory. He remembers that, through the sin of Adam, his readers, like himself, will pass through the dark portal of death; and remembers also that they who believe in

Christ will live, though they die; that they owe this immortal life to the resurrection of Christ, and that it will be consummated in their own resurrection from the dead.

Notice carefully that in this passage St. Paul writes, not πάντες ἄνθρωποι, as in Romans v. 12, 18, 1 Timothy ii. 1, 4, where he refers expressly to the whole race, but the less definite term πάντες, which leaves the precise reference to be supplied from the context. This confirms strongly the limited exposition given above. Similarly, in 2 Corinthians v. 15, he writes that "one died on behalf of all:" an assertion true of the whole race. But the words which follow prove that the Apostle refers only to those who have shared the blessed result of the death of Christ, and in this sense are dead with Him: "One died for all, therefore all died." In each case, St. Paul's words, read in the light of their context, have not the full compass they might have if they stood alone as an absolute assertion.

From the above it is now evident that the passage we have been discussing sheds no light on the future punishment of sin. It does not even assert a universal purpose of salvation. I have discussed it merely to guard against prevalent misinterpretations.

Much more to the point is Romans v. 18, where we have the definite phrase πάντας ἀνθρώπους in reference first to the sin of Adam, and then to the salvation brought by Christ. The same words are found also in verse 12, where we have a definite and emphatic assertion, "to all men death passed through." This historical statement is expounded in verse 14: "Death reigned from Adam to Moses." Without doubt it covers the entire human race. Even over Enoch and Elijah, during their life on earth, death reigned, until by the hand of God they were rescued from its dominion. Here then we have a passage in which manifestly the writer's horizon embraces the whole family of man.

We notice at once that verse 18, although consisting of two clauses by no means short, contains no verb. Consequently, the word which usually conveys the main assertion of the sentence must be supplied from the context. This defect sheds obscurity over the whole verse, and renders needful most careful grammatical study of the words used.

The most conspicuous feature of this verse, occurring twice in each clause, is the common preposition *εἰς*. Upon our interpretation of this small word depends our exposition of the whole verse.

This preposition denotes, in its simplest meaning, motion towards the inside of something. It is thus more definite than *πρός* with an accusative, which denotes simply motion towards an object, it may be only towards its circumference. From this local sense is easily derived that of mental movement or direction. It is the ordinary Greek word to describe an intelligent purpose. And this is its most common derived sense. Less frequently it is used to describe a tendency, sometimes an unconscious outworking, of blind force. At other times it notes an actual result, intentional or unintentional. These three senses are closely allied, and flow naturally from the radical local sense of the word. The first and third are found together in closest relation in Romans vii. 10: "The command which was for life, this was found by me to be for death." The purpose of the law was life; its actual result to St. Paul was death. The context, and especially the contrast of life and death, make quite clear the different senses conveyed in this one short verse by the same common preposition.

When the word *εἰς* denotes a purpose, it may almost always be suitably rendered *for*, as in the above rendering of Romans vii. 10. The Revisers' usual rendering, *unto*, is obscure, and therefore unsatisfactory.

In the light of this various use of this common preposition, we turn again to Romans v. 18. The absence of a

verb compels us to fill up its defective grammatical structure from the preceding verses ; and this is the more easy because verse 18 is expressly given as a summing up of the foregoing argument : "*Therefore* as through," etc.

The earlier clause recalls at once verse 12, where we have the same words, *εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*, evidently marking out the extent of the result of Adam's sin : "To all men death passed through." So verse 14 : "Death reigned from Adam to Moses."

But in the foregoing verses we have no assertion that through Christ benefit has actually reached *all men*. Indeed the universal phrase, *εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*, is conspicuous by its absence from verses 15-17. The free gift has abounded, not to *all men*, but *εἰς τοὺς πολλούς*. These last words occur again still more conspicuously in verse 19, where we read that "*the many* will be constituted righteous." This repeated change of expression cannot have been chosen merely in order to call attention to the great number of the saved ; for this would be done more effectively by the universal phrase, *all men*. Another explanation of it must be sought. Moreover, in these two passages, the definite article, *οἱ πολλοί*, by no means implies or suggests universality, but marks out the many as a definite object of thought. The article suggests universality only when this is involved in the definiteness of the object referred to. Similarly, in verse 17, we read, not that all men "will reign in life," but that this will be the lot of those who receive the gift of righteousness. In other words, where we have a plain statement of actual or expected result, the universal phrase, *all men*, is conspicuous by its absence. Only once do we find it in the second part of the comparison, and then in a passage (verse 18) in which we have no categorical statement.

The explanation is not far to seek. In defect of clear statement, we must fall back upon the most common use of

the preposition *εἰς*, when not used in a strictly local sense. St. Paul wishes to say in verse 18, that the life eternal, which, as he has taught in verse 17, will be actually enjoyed by some men, was designed *for all men*.

To this exposition no one can object that it gives to the same preposition two uses in the same verse. For, as we have seen, this is the case in Romans vii. 10. Moreover, in a verse which is professedly a summing up of a foregoing argument, the meaning of the words used must be determined by that argument.

Nor can it be said that this exposition breaks down the comparison of Adam and Christ, that a contingent and partial benefit is no match for actual and universal injury. But this failure of the comparison is only apparent. For although death is inevitable and universal, continuance under its dominion depends upon ourselves. In Christ, God offers to every man an entrance into eternal life. Consequently, each man's fate is in his own hands. Indeed we gain in Christ more than we lost through Adam. For they who accept the offered life will be saved not merely from the result of their father's first sin, but from the due punishment of their own "many offences."¹

We may therefore accept Romans v. 18 as an assertion that the salvation brought into the world by Christ is as wide in its design as was the sin of Adam in its actual result; that God's purpose of salvation embraces the entire race.

In Romans xiv. 11, St. Paul quotes from Isaiah xlv. 23: "As I live, saith the Lord, to Me shall bow every knee, and every tongue shall confess to God." The prophet refers apparently to willing homage paid by true servants of God. His words are most easily understood as referring to universal worship in that new earth and heaven which he saw from afar. But it would be unfair to interpret

¹ Rom. v. 16.

them as meaning that that glory will ultimately be shared by all the wicked men of Isaiah's own day. Indeed, the last words of his glowing prophecy speak of the corpses of those who have sinned, of the worm which shall not die and the fire which shall not be quenched. These terrible words reveal how far from the thought of Isaiah was a universal restoration.

This prophecy St. Paul quotes to support his assertion that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God;" and he rightly draws from it the inference, "therefore each of us will give account of himself to God." For the universal homage described by Isaiah must be a fulfilment of a Divine purpose; and this purpose implies that God claims the obedience of all men, and will therefore require an account from all.

We must therefore place Romans xiv. 11 beside chapter v. 18, as announcing or implying that God's original purpose of salvation embraced every child of Adam. But, inasmuch as it is quoted by St. Paul, not in reference to the ultimate salvation of all men, but simply to prove that all men will give account to God for actions done on earth, we cannot accept it as an assertion of the ultimate salvation of all.

From Romans xiv. 11 we turn naturally to Philippians ii. 9, 10, where, in language borrowed from the same prophecy of Isaiah, we have a plain statement of God's purpose in raising the Crucified One above and beyond all others and giving to Him the Name beyond every name. As before, the graphic delineation "every knee bow and every tongue confess" must describe the willing homage of the servants of God. But here the worshippers are further described as belonging to three classes. "Those in heaven" are its angelic inhabitants: same word in Ephesians i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; 1 Corinthians xv. 40, 48, 49. "Those on earth" are living men: same word in Philippians iii. 19, 1 Corinthians xv. 40; 2 Corinthians v. 1. "Those

under the earth" are the dead in contrast to the living. So Homer (*Iliad*, bk. ix. 457) speaks of Pluto as "Zeus under the earth." It is unsafe to infer from these last words that St. Paul thinks of universal worship earlier than the resurrection. His threefold division includes angels and men as they were at the moment of writing. And he divides men into those now living and those already dead. For both these classes will join in that eternal song. Without thought of time, looking only at the persons belonging to these three all-inclusive classes, St. Paul says that God exalted Christ in order that every one of them may bow to Him.

It is not safe to infer from the graphic terms "every knee and every tongue" that angels and departed spirits have bodily form. For these words were naturally prompted by the Apostle's thoughts about living men; and with these he easily associated angels and the dead.

The phraseology of the verse before us is appropriately taken from Isaiah xlv. 23, already referred to, which follows and confirms an announcement of God's purpose of salvation for the Gentiles: "Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth." And inasmuch as that ancient purpose will be fulfilled in homage paid to Christ, and only thus, the submission to God foretold by Isaiah is legitimately stated here in the form of submission to Christ. Notice also that the "glory of God the Father," *i.e.* the manifestation of His greatness evoking His creatures' admiration, is here represented as the ultimate purpose for which God exalted Christ. As ever, St. Paul rises from the Son to the Father. A close coincidence is found in 1 Corinthians xv. 28.

From the mention in Philippians ii. 10 of "those under the earth" as objects of God's purpose of salvation, we cannot infer a probation in Hades, even for those who on earth did not hear the Gospel. For it is quite possible that

of this large class the fate of each will be determined by his acceptance or rejection of such light as he had on earth ; and, if so, the eternal song of the heathen who loved the truth will be a designed result of Christ's victory over death. The whole passage is so easily explained by St. Paul's teaching elsewhere that we cannot fairly infer from it any further teaching about the position or prospects of the dead.

With the passage just studied may be classed Colossians i. 19, 20: "He was pleased that in Him should all the fulness dwell ; and through Him to reconcile all things to Himself, . . . whether the things upon the earth or the things in the heavens." And Ephesians i. 9, 10: "According to His good pleasure which He purposed in Him, . . . to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things upon the earth." Thus in each of the longer epistles of the third group, written by St. Paul apparently from his prison at Rome, and embodying his loftiest and widest thought, we have a plain assertion that God's purpose of salvation embraced every individual man ; but we have no assertion or hint that in every man that purpose will be accomplished.

Similar teaching is found in the latest group of the Pauline epistles. In 1 Timothy ii. 1-5 we have an exhortation that prayer be made for *all men*, among whom are specified kings and men in authority ; and we are told that God "desires *all men* to be saved, and to come to knowledge of the truth." In chapter iv. 10 we read that God "is Saviour of *all men*, specially of believers." In Titus ii. 11 the Revisers read "the grace of God, bringing salvation to all men." But the words so rendered mean only salvation for *all men*: σωτήριος πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις. The Greek dative merely specifies those for whose benefit the saving grace appeared. In each of these passages we have the universal phrase noted above, *all men*. But the first and

third of them state only a Divine purpose, not necessarily an actual result. And if God's purpose of salvation embraced all, He may justly be called "Saviour of all men;" and, inasmuch as only believers will actually be saved, He is in this special sense their Saviour.

One more passage demands attention here. In Romans xi. 26 we have a categorical assertion that "all Israel will be saved." This reveals a universal blessing awaiting the ancient people of God. But it did nothing to lessen the gloom which in chapter ix. 3 almost forced from the patriot's heart a wish to be himself, on behalf of his brethren, separated from Christ by a curse which was, in the language of the Old Testament, an irrevocable doom. And it does nothing whatever to prove that St. Paul expected ultimate salvation for those individual Jews who had gone down into the grave "enemies of the cross of Christ."

Besides the above passages, I know not of any which assert or imply, or seem to imply, that all men will eventually be saved.

To sum up. St. Paul states clearly, and in several places, that God's purpose of salvation embraced every son of Adam; but he never says that in every one that purpose will be actually accomplished. And manifestly the kindness of God is resisted by many whose "impenitent heart" refuses to be led to repentance.¹ Moreover, even in the epistle which depicts in most glowing language God's universal purpose of salvation, St. Paul speaks in words already expounded of some "whose end is destruction;" and we find nothing in his writings to modify this terrible assertion. We are therefore compelled to believe that in his mind the universal purpose of salvation was consistent with the final exclusion from its glories of some of those originally included in its scope.

Whether, beyond the wide horizon of the Apostle's

¹ Rom. ii. 4, 5.

knowledge, and thought, and hope, the universality of God's purpose of salvation itself suggests or implies an ultimate salvation for those who die rejecting the salvation offered to them in the Gospel, we shall consider when the entire teaching of the New Testament is before us.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

1 PETER III. 17.

ST. PETER wrote his first epistle to encourage some Christian converts in Asia Minor, who were in much affliction by reason of their heathen surroundings. In spite of all the trials which beset them, he exhorts them to hold fast and persevere in their Christian profession. Among other arguments which he employs is this (iii. 17), "It is better, if the will of God should so will, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing." And he proceeds to support this assertion by examples.

First, as of greatest weight, he sets before them the earthly life of Jesus. It is better, he argues, to suffer as I have told you, for Christ did so. "Christ also hath suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God." Here St. Peter shows both the nature and the motive of Christ's endurance. He who had no sin, who merited no suffering, bore even death itself from the hands of His persecutors, that thus He might finish the work which the Father had given Him to do, and bring salvation near to the unrighteous. It is with such a motive the apostle desires to inspire these Asian Christians: therewith would come to them a share of that strength by which the Lord Himself was supported; their hard trials would be abated of their keenness: their lives would be ennobled, raised above their pains; filled with Christlike compassion and love for them that were ignorant

and out of the way, they would find power to pray, as Christ prayed, "Father, forgive them," and could look forward, wait, labour, suffer, trusting God for the result, strong only in the assurance that their hearts longed to do their Master's service.

As the example of Jesus is here quoted by the apostle to establish his assertion that it is better to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing, it is right to examine the applicability of the illustration. To sinners whom Christ has redeemed His death brought abundant blessing, it opened unto them the gate of everlasting life. But can the apostle's words be properly applied to Christ Himself?

As if in explanation he continues, "He was put to death in the flesh"—suffering in His case was pushed to the last extremity,—“but He was quickened in the spirit.” It is in the sense given to these latter words that we must find the support for St. Peter's argument. What are we to understand by them? *Ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι*. Their meaning assuredly is not exhausted, if they be interpreted only of the resumption of that life of which Christ's human body was reft at the crucifixion. Their sense is rather, as Grimm explains, *animum quod attinet novis usque majoribus vita viribus auctus*, endowed with new and mightier power. And to this interpretation New Testament Scripture bears abundant witness.

To human sight the incarnate Word had appeared as a man among men; but by His death, resurrection, and ascension His true nature was revealed; He became known as the manifestation of the Godhead: "Truly this Man was the Son of God." This was the new and mightier power which He acquired. One apostle speaks (Heb. ii. 10) of Jesus as *made perfect* through His sufferings,—perfect as a Mediator, perfect as the Captain of our salvation, through whom many sons should be brought unto glory. He is, in the same context, pictured for us as made a little lower

than the angels for the suffering of death, but since His resurrection crowned with glory and honour.

Similarly St. Paul (Phil. ii. 8, 9) testifies of the exaltation of Jesus after, and in virtue of, His sufferings. "He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. *Wherefore* God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name." This is what St. Peter means when he writes, Christ "was quickened in the spirit." It was the granting of a full answer to the Lord's consecration prayer (John xvii. 5), offered in full sight of the crucifixion: "Now, O Father, glorify Thou Me . . . with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was."

Yet must we distinguish the latter from the former glory. The eternal Son had shared in the glory of the Father from everlasting; now there is to be seen the glory of the Word made flesh, by whose manifestation men should be brought to know the Father. His eternal glory Christ had for a while veiled in a garb of flesh. After the resurrection He was to take it again, and thereto was to be added that other glory, that men should know and come to the Father through the Son, drawn by that love which had not been ashamed to call them brethren. Thus was Christ quickened, endowed with a mightier force, in the spirit. This was His exaltation, this the gain which resulted from His suffering.

But there was another aspect of Christ's work for men of which the apostle was anxious to remind these Asian converts. That work was not limited to the period of the Lord's earthly life. The incarnation and those events which were decreed to be its sequel formed the crowning act of Christ's love, but His spirit had striven with men ever since sin made redemption necessary. In Abel and Enoch, in the patriarchs and the prophets His voice had been calling men to walk with God, and to realize His loving Fatherhood. In the fulness of time the Son Himself took

our flesh, and by the eternal Spirit offered Himself to God. Thus was made a break, an interruption in the usual working of Christ's spirit by human agents. But that working, which had preceded the brief space of the Lord's personal presence on earth, was also to continue after He had gone into heaven ; and He had promised to be present with His servants in a closer sense than heretofore. Thus through all time Christ's spirit had been striving and would strive to bring men unto God. It is to this unwearied love of Christ that St. Peter now refers, to give the new converts strength which shall keep them steadfast, never weary in their own well-doing.

And he makes choice of one instance for their special instruction: selects it, as it seems, because the trials then endured were of the same kind as their own, though fiercer in degree. They had much to endure from the wickedness of their heathen neighbours, to whom the apostle would have them feel that they are sent as Christ's own missionaries. He therefore points them back to the days of Noah, to a world overflowing with sin, and of which the Holy Ghost has testified that every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart was only evil continually. Yet even in that dark time the spirit of Christ did not despair. Into the corrupt and doomed world He came in that same spirit by which He afterwards offered Himself to God for the sake of sinners, and preached (*ἐκήρυξε*) through His servant Noah, whom St. Peter in the second epistle calls *δικαιοσύνης κήρυξ*, the preacher of righteousness. For one hundred and twenty years this wicked generation gazed on the voiceless sermon of the growing ark, and heard the oft-repeated admonitions of the preacher ; yet for all God's longsuffering they were still disobedient. The Asian Christians could estimate the pain of Noah's life from their own case. His lot would seem harder than their own, and his work was to be done with less numbers to sustain him. Eight persons

on one side, the whole sinful world on the other. Only Christ's spirit was there, or the heart of the preacher of righteousness must have fainted, and have left the doomed sinners to their destruction.

For the lives of these wicked men were forfeit, the fate of their bodies was fixed unchangeably. But for what then did the longsuffering of God tarry during all those years? Why did not the flood come as soon as the sentence was pronounced? The spirit of Christ was there, and had work to be done even in that sin-stained world. The men were shut up to their doom. There was no escape. Their souls were in prison in their sinful bodies; but hope of them had not utterly perished. Christ did not let them go. They were *ἐν φυλακῇ*, in a prison indeed, but not without guardian-care. So the message of warning and the righteous example of the preacher were appointed to work for Christ, and with Christ's help, if haply some soul might repent and live.

Noah truly suffered for well-doing. Neglect, ridicule, mockery, insults in abundance would be heaped upon him. But how does his life illustrate St. Peter's position, "It is better to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing"? No doubt it was better to be saved than to be drowned. No doubt he felt thankful for his salvation when God shut him into the ark, and after one hundred and fifty days sent him forth to be the father of a new and purer world. But was this all? Why then did the longsuffering of God delay the deluge? The language of St. Peter seems to intimate that Noah was blessed with a further and nobler joy than would come from the preservation of his own life: that as of his Divine Master it was said, "He shall see of the travail of His soul, and shall be satisfied," so Noah's century-long suffering bore some fruit in the hearts of those among whom he lived.

The ark was a salvation to Noah and his family; but the

apostle proceeds immediately to treat of the deluge as a type of baptism, and the same figure is not infrequent in other parts of the New Testament. Its full applicability can however hardly be seen unless we conclude that some of those souls, shut up in the prison of their corrupted bodies, were saved when they laid aside their mortal coil. Noah and his family were not washed by the waters of the deluge; *they* were not buried by baptism unto death; there was nothing in *their* case to speak of dying unto sin, and rising again unto righteousness.

But if some souls had hearkened to Christ's spirit in His preacher, and repented of their sin, though their bodies could not escape God's doom, yet death when it came would be a release from their prison-house: they died as far as their sinful bodies were concerned, but their saved souls were raised to a new and purified life. Hence it is that the apostle can tell us in the next chapter, that for this cause the gospel was preached unto them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh: might undergo the sentence which for sin has been passed upon all men, "Ye shall surely die"; but yet might live according to God in the spirit.

With these thoughts impressed on their hearts the Christians to whom St. Peter was writing would be strengthened in their duty, would cease to think of their fiery trial as though some strange thing were happening unto them, would feel that they were bearing their part in the wide communion of sufferers, the righteous for the unrighteous, and would be drawn to act as Christ's servants in former ages had acted, convinced that it is better, not only for themselves, but also (which is a far more exalted motive) for the sinners by whose evil deeds they are afflicted, to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing.

J. RAWSON LUMBY.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XVI. THE MORE EXCELLENT MINISTRY (CHAP. IX. 11-14).

IN these remarkable sentences the priestly ministry of Christ is described in contrast to that of the Jewish high priest, the aim being to show that the former ministry is, as stated in chap. viii. 6, a more excellent one both in its nature and in its result.

Between things contrasted there must be some resemblance. Hence, to facilitate comparison, the essential facts which form the basis of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood, His death as a sacrificial victim and His ascension into heaven as one whose blood had been shed, are here stated in terms suggested by the transactions on the great day of atonement, involving a parallelism between Christ and Aaron which at each point is at the same time a contrast in Christ's favour. This mode of stating the truth is dictated by the apologetic aim, and serves well the purpose of conveying rudimentary ideas on the subject to ill-instructed minds. But of course it has its drawbacks. It involves obscurity at points where the parallelism is faint, and provides in a very inadequate measure for the expression of the highest truth. In this respect teaching by types is like teaching by parables. It is good to begin with, but ill fitted to be the last word.

These remarks find illustration in the passage now to be considered, which bristles with difficulties of all sorts, uncertainty in the text, doubtful connexions of clauses, expressions to which it is not easy to assign an intelligible meaning, and phrases suggestive of lofty thoughts, where the mind of the writer seems to break away from the trammels of typology and soar into the serene region of spiritual truth. In the circumstances I deem it best to state as plainly as possible the views which commend themselves to my own

mind, without discussing at length others with which I am unable to agree. At one point only shall I depart from this attitude, *viz.* in connexion with the expression "through the eternal Spirit," which I regard as the most important in the whole epistle, and as at once needing and justifying the most careful exposition, both positive and defensive.

Verses 11 and 12 I render as follows: "But Christ, appearing¹ as High Priest of the good things to come,² did, through the greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation, and not through blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood, enter³ in once for all into the holy place, so obtaining eternal redemption."

The ministry of Christ is here set forth as the more excellent, in comparison with that of Aaron, in whom the Levitical priesthood culminated, in four respects: (1) because He entered into the true sanctuary through a more perfect tabernacle; (2) because He entered "through His own blood," not through blood of goats and calves; (3) because He thereby obtained, not an annual, but an "eternal redemption"; (4) because on that account He needed to enter only once (*ἐφάπαξ*).

The very first of these four particulars makes us conscious of the difficulties created by the typological parallelism.

¹ *παρουσέναι* expresses the idea of appearing on the stage of history; but we need not confine its meaning to the advent of Christ, or to His life on earth, though it includes this, but with Alford understand it as referring to "the whole accomplished course of Christ summed up in one," from His incarnation to His entrance into heaven as a Priest after the order of Melchisedec.

² Instead of *μελλόντων*, Codex B has *γενομένων*, which, true to their critical principles, Westcott and Hort have admitted into their text. This reading is probably an ancient error of the eye, caused by *παρουσέναι* going before.

³ I render *εἰσῆλθεν* "did enter in," instead of "entered in," to make clear the dependence of all the clauses following "did" on the clause containing the main affirmation. Others connect the clauses differently. Thus among recent writers Mr. Rendall construes the sentence as follows: "Christ appearing, not through blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood, as High Priest of good things which came (*γενομένων*) through the greater and more perfect tabernacle," etc.

The suggestion seems to be that as Aaron on the great day of atonement entered into the holy of holies through the first division of the tabernacle, so Christ entered into the celestial most holy place through something corresponding thereto. We may indeed very excusably doubt whether that can be intended, seeing it is part of the author's doctrine that by Christ the distinction between holy place and most holy is abolished. But the veil might exist for Christ entering, and be abolished by His entering. Assuming then that Christ is conceived of as entering in through something corresponding to the first division of the tabernacle, the question arises, What is the something? I am inclined to agree with those who think that we have nothing here but a form of thought dictated by the parallélism between Christ and Aaron. You may fill it in, if you please, by the lower or first heavens, or by the place of God's visible presence, where He is manifested as an object of worship to angels and spirits of just men made perfect, as distinguished from the proper abode of God, whom no eye hath seen or can see, the celestial holy of holies. I for my part prefer to leave it vague. Were I to yield to the temptation to become definite, I should take up with the antiquated view of the worthy Fathers who saw in Christ's body or human nature the greater and more perfect tabernacle through which our High Priest passed into the celestial sanctuary. Whatever one may think of its truth, it has at least the merits of intelligibility and moral interest. It is much easier to think of Christ's human nature as a tabernacle through which He entered into glory, than to form a definite conception of the heavens as divided into a holy and a most holy place. Then there is something fine in the idea that our Lord's human nature and earthly history were to Him what the transit through the first division of the tabernacle was to the Jewish high priest, *viz.* the condition of His gaining an entrance into the most holy place, the heavenly sanctuary,

as the great High Priest of mankind. On this view, the space between the two veils becomes an emblem of the life of Jesus on earth between His mysterious advent as the holy Child and His no less mysterious exit when He ascended into heaven, and His career between these two points answers to the solemn passage of Aaron through the first tabernacle to the second on the day of annual atonement. I feel the beauty of this thought, while not prepared to affirm that it is the one intended; though in view of the representation of Christ's flesh as a veil in chap. x. 20, it cannot be said to be foreign to the writer's typological system. Acceptance of it is of course not facilitated by the description of the better tabernacle as not of this creation (*οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως*).¹ The body of Christ was of this creation, just like the bodies of other men. From this difficulty some take refuge in the glorified, spiritualized body of Christ, only to encounter trouble in another direction from the question, In what sense can it be said that Christ passed through His glorified body? The only possible solution is to say that *through* means *with*, not implying local transition, but a condition under which a particular action is performed.

At the next point in the comparison the typological parallelism brings us in front of a new difficulty. Aaron entered into the inner shrine of the tabernacle with the blood of sacrificial victims in his hands. Is it suggested that Christ took His blood with Him into heaven? No such crude idea ever entered the writer's mind. Does

¹ Though I have adopted here the rendering of the Revised Version, I am by no means sure that the words above quoted should not be rendered "not of common structure." Dr. Field, in *Otium Norvicense*, remarks on this passage, "By ταύτης I understand *vulgaris, quæ vulgo dicitur*." After giving several examples of this usage, which he thinks has been overlooked by lexicographers, he adds: "This being understood, there is no occasion to take κτίσις in any other sense than that in which κτίτω is commonly applied to a city (3 Esd. iv. 53: κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν) or to the tabernacle itself (Lev. xvi. 16: οὐρα ποιήσεις τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ ἐκτισμένῃ αὐτοῖς)."

the parallelism then fail at this point? In some respects it certainly does. In the Levitical system, blood-sprinkling within the sanctuary was an essential feature in sacrifice. In connexion with the better ministry there is no blood-sprinkling, except in a figure which has no value save as the symbol of a spiritual truth. Blood belongs to this world, and can find no place in heaven. But an analogy can be established between Christ and Aaron by conceiving of blood as the means of gaining admission into the sanctuary. The blood in either case may be regarded as a key opening the door of the holiest. It is in the light of this idea that the phrases, "not through blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood," are to be understood. The writer seizes hold of the one point at which parallelism in the matter of blood is possible, and skilfully adapts his mode of expression (*διὰ*) to the state of the case.

Thus far of the parallelism, but now of the contrast: "not by blood of *goats and calves*, but by *His own* blood." To feel the force of this distinction we must understand that the comparison lies not between the *bloods*, but between the *victims*. Blood, whether of man or of beast, is a material, corruptible thing. Chemically considered, I suppose, there is not much difference between them. But what a difference between the victims! In the one case a bullock or a goat, in the other Jesus Christ Himself. There is really no comparison here. "His own blood" takes us into a region of thought where typological conceptions serve no purpose, save to make a crude religious system a foil to show off the grandeur of spiritual truth. We pass *per saltum* from the ritual to the ethical; from a brute beast slain involuntarily without foreknowledge, and without capacity to consent to or appreciate the reason of its dying, to a holy, loving Man, who laid down His own life deliberately, freely, devotedly, animated by an eternal spirit of goodness. Without knowing much of theology one can understand

that the two kinds of sacrifice must have very different values in the judgment of God. How the Levitical sacrifice could have any value or any effect it is not easy to see ; but that a self-sacrifice like that of Jesus has immeasurable value, however it is to be theologically formulated, for God and for man, one instinctively feels. The difficulty experienced by theologians in their attempts to express its worth in terms of theory is due to the vastness of its significance. Therein is revealed a "many-coloured wisdom of God."¹

What virtue our author ascribed to Christ's sacrifice appears from the words which set forth the third and chief point of contrast between His ministry and that of Aaron : "obtaining *eternal* redemption" (*αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐάμενος*). This is what results from the entrance of Christ into the sanctuary through His own blood, *i.e.* as one who had Himself been the victim. When we come to consider the two following verses, we shall see more clearly why that fact should have so momentous a consequence. For the present we may confine our attention to the exact force of the contrast between the two ministries at this point. It is this : By his sacrifice of bullocks and goats the high priest of Israel procured for himself and for the people an *annual* redemption ; by His sacrifice of Himself Christ procured an *everlasting, perennial* redemption. The blood of bulls and goats taken within the veil and sprinkled on the mercy-seat procured, not by its intrinsic virtue, but by positive Divine appointment, remission of certain offences against the Levitical religious system, with the effect of restoring offenders to right theocratic relations for the time being, so giving the people a fair start, as it were, for another year. The blood of Christ shed freely and lovingly on Calvary, and conceived as taken up by Him into heaven, procured by its transcendent essential merit perpetual re-

¹ Eph. iii. 10 : ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

mission of all sin, took away the whole sin of the world, and so gave mankind a new start, not for a new year, but for a new, unending era of grace. Such is the contrast : on one side, an annual, partial, putative redemption ; on the other, an eternal, complete, real redemption. There is no room to doubt where the superiority lies.

The final point of comparison is the number of entries into the most holy place. The high priest of Israel went in once a year, our great High Priest went in once for all. To the legal, ceremony-loving mind the advantage in this respect might seem to be with the Levitical priesthood. What a fine, imposing service was that annual solemnity of expiation ! With what pious delight the devout worshipper anticipated its return, with all its hallowed associations ! How pleasant and comforting to have the year divided by sacred seasons ! and what a blank would be created by their discontinuance ! Tell him not of the insufficiency of those annual atonements : all he knows is that he finds much pleasure in them, and real satisfaction to his conscience in their periodic cancelling of the sins of each past year. Very natural feelings these. It comes natural to men in all ages (yes, even in this Christian era, when we ought to have outgrown such childish practices) to observe "days and months and times and years." But such attachments to sacred times in no case settle the question as to the worth or unworth of religious institutions. In particular, it by no means followed that because the day of atonement was an institution to which the pious Israelite fondly clung, therefore it was fitted to perfect the worshipper as to conscience, or to deal thoroughly with the problem of sin. On the contrary, the annual repetition of the solemnity was a standing testimony to its insufficiency. It needed to be repeated, because at no time did it fulfil the end of its existence. Repetition is not indeed in all cases evidence of insufficiency. The repetition of the

passover did not show that it came short of its purpose. It was a commemorative festival, and its repetition served to keep alive the memory of the exodus. The same remark applies to the feast of tabernacles, which commemorated the wilderness life of Israel. But the annual atonement was not commemorative of redemption achieved once for all. There was in it a remembrance of sin, not of redemption from sin, every year. It was a fresh act of expiation. Therefore in this case repetition implied insufficiency. The atonement for sin was not, like the deliverance out of Egypt, a thing done thoroughly once for all; therefore it had to be done over and over again.

We pass now to vers. 13, 14. The purpose of these sentences is to justify the ascription to the one sacrifice of Christ virtue sufficient to procure for sinful men a real and eternal redemption. They contain the writer's fullest statement as to the nature of Christ's sacrifice, his final answer to the question, What has this Man to offer?

“For if the blood of goats and bulls, and ashes of a heifer sprinkling those who have been defiled, sanctifieth unto the cleanness of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through an eternal spirit offered Himself without spot unto God, purge our conscience from dead works to serve the living God?”

The point chiefly to be noted in ver. 13 is, that, while in the previous part of the argument mention is made only of the victims slain on the day of atonement, here, besides these, a reference is made to the legal provision for removing uncleanness contracted by accidental contact with a dead body. The reason readily suggests itself. Both things, the blood of victims on the day of atonement, and the ashes of the red heifer, are named together, because the two combined formed the complete legal provision for removing uncleanness, however contracted, *from the whole people of Israel*. The one dealt with the defilement of *sin*,

the other with the defilement caused by contact with *death*. By thus uniting the two, our author protects himself from a possible charge of dealing partially with the subject under consideration. And while doing full justice to the law he has an eye to the glory of the gospel. He is preparing the way for the presentation of Christ's sacrifice as dealing effectually with the whole question of moral defilement in all its aspects. He mentions both the blood of sacrificial victims and the ashes of the heifer, because he means to exhibit Christ's blood as serving both the purposes for which these two kinds of legal purification were respectively provided, so proving itself to be a perfect cure for moral evil. On this view the mention of the two Levitical remedies for defilement over against the one remedy under the gospel suggests a subsidiary argument for the superiority of the priestly ministry of the new covenant.

Another point in ver. 13 is worthy of notice. Both the Levitical remedies for uncleanness are spoken of as availing merely for the purity of the flesh. The statement is strictly applicable to the ashes of the heifer, for the sole design of that peculiar institution was to make a man technically clean whose person had come into contact with a carcase. But it may seem rather depreciatory to say of the blood shed on the day of atonement that it availed only to the purifying of the flesh, seeing the express purpose of the sacrifices offered on that day was to make atonement for the sins of Israel. Yet practically, and in effect, the representation is correct. These sacrifices did not purge the conscience, but only the persons of the worshippers. Grave moral offences they did not even profess to deal with, but only with technical offences against religious ritual. And their effect was just that which followed application of the ashes of the heifer, the removal of technical disability to serve God. A man who touched a dead body was not allowed to approach the tabernacle till he had been sprinkled with

holy water mixed with a portion of the ashes. In like manner the whole people of Israel were regarded as formally disqualified for the service of God by the accumulated "ignorances" of the past year, till the blood of victims had been duly applied for the purpose of purgation.

In ver. 14 Christ's sacrifice in its infinite worth and eternal validity is set over against these legal provisions for the purification of Israel. We have to note (1) on what the virtue of Christ's sacrifice is made to depend; and (2) what its effect is represented to be.

1. The reason why the sacrifice of Christ possesses transcendent virtue is given in these words, "Who through an eternal spirit offered Himself spotless to God" (ὁς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἁμωμον τῷ Θεῷ); where stress must be laid on each of three particulars: Christ offered *Himself*; in offering Himself He presented a *spotless* offering; He offered Himself *through an eternal spirit*. I arrange them thus, because through the explanation of the first two particulars I hope to feel my way to the sense of the third and most difficult one.

First, then, Christ's sacrifice possesses incomparable worth and virtue because the victim was HIMSELF. The *ἑαυτόν* before the verb is emphatic, and is one of the words to be written here and throughout the epistle in large letters. In this one fact is involved that Christ's sacrifice possessed certain moral attributes altogether lacking in the Levitical sacrifices: voluntariness and beneficent intention, the freedom of a rational being with a mind of his own and capable of self-determination, the love of a gracious personality in whom the soul of goodness dwells. Christ's sacrifice was an affair of mind and heart—in one word, of *spirit*.

Christ's sacrifice possesses incomparable worth and virtue, secondly, because in Himself He presented to God a *spotless* sacrifice—spotless in the moral sense. He was a perfectly

holy, righteous Man, and He showed His moral purity precisely by being loyal and obedient even to the point of enduring death for righteousness' sake. The victims under the law were spotless also, but merely in a physical sense. Christ's spotlessness, on the contrary, was ethical, a quality belonging not to His body, but to His spirit.

We are now prepared in some measure to understand the third ground of the value attaching to Christ's sacrifice; viz. that He offered Himself *through an eternal spirit*. Putting aside for a moment the epithet "eternal," we see that Christ's sacrifice was one in which *spirit* was concerned, as opposed to the legal sacrifices in which flesh and blood only were concerned. The important thing in connexion with the latter was the simple fact that the blood was shed and sprinkled according to the rubric. The important thing in Christ's sacrifice was, not the fact that His blood was shed, but the spirit in which it was shed. Then, further, we have no difficulty in determining the ethical character of the spirit in which Christ offered Himself. It was a *free, loving, holy* spirit. But the writer, it is observable, omits mention of these moral qualities, and employs instead another epithet, which in the connexion of thought it was more important to specify, and which there was little chance of his readers supplying for themselves. That epithet is *eternal*. The apparent purpose it is meant to serve is, to explain how it comes that the sacrifice of Christ has perpetual validity, how it obtained *eternal* redemption. It meets a state of mind that might express itself thus: "I see the difference between a brute beast slain by the priest and a sacrifice in which the priest is himself the victim, a difference arising out of the introduction of the elements of will and intention; but how that one sacrifice of Himself offered by Christ, though presented through a free, loving, holy spirit, avails to procure an eternal redemption, so that no more sacrifices are needed, I do not see." The epithet

"eternal" suggests the thought: the act performed by Jesus in offering Himself may, as a historical event, become old with the lapse of ages; but the spirit in which the act was done can never become a thing of the past. The blood shed was corruptible; but the spirit which found expression in Christ's self-sacrifice is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and in its eternal self-identity lends to the priestly deed imperishable merit and significance.

This fitly chosen phrase thus makes the one sacrifice of Christ cover with its efficacy all prospective sin. But it does more than that. It is retrospective as well as prospective, and makes the sacrifice valid for the ages going before. For an eternal spirit is independent of time, and gives to acts done through its inspiration validity for all time. In this respect it might be said of Christ, that though He offered Himself in historical fact after the world had been in existence for some thousands of years, He offered Himself in spirit "before the foundation of the world." It does not follow from this that the value of His sacrifice was the same in all respects before and after its historical presentation. It was the same for God, but not for man. The sacrifice that was to be influenced God's attitude towards the world from the first. But the mystery hid in God was hid from man for ages, and during that long period the beneficent influence of the Christ's eternal spirit could reach men only through the reflected moonlight of Levitical sacrifices, serving as aids to faith in Divine redeeming grace till the era of reformation arrived.

One virtue more must be ascribed to this magic phrase, "through an eternal spirit." It helps us over the difficulty created by the fact that Christ's real self-sacrifice took place on earth, and yet ideally belongs to the heavenly sanctuary. The contradiction, it will be observed, is similar to that I had occasion to note in reference to the altar of incense. Like it, this apparently hopeless antinomy is,

when rightly viewed, easily soluble. When we think of Christ's sacrifice as offered through an eternal spirit, we see that we may place it where we please, in earth or in heaven, on Calvary or on high, as suits our purpose. Do you insist that Christ's proper offering of Himself took place in the celestial sanctuary after the ascension, even as Aaron's proper offering was the blood-sprinkling within the most holy place? I reply, Be it so: but it took place there through an eternal spirit which gave to it its value; and if we want to know what that spirit was, we must look to the earthly life of obedience and love culminating in the crucifixion, wherein it found its perfect manifestation. Through this eternal spirit Christ offered Himself before He came into the world, when He was in the world, after He left the world. All this the author of our epistle understands full well, and here in effect teaches; though the apologetic method of his writing requires him to relegate the priestly work of Christ, for the most part, to heaven.

A. B. BRUCE.

(To be concluded.)

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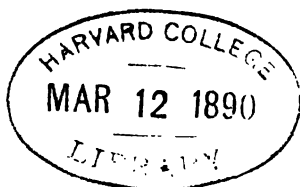
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THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

(1 Cor. xv. 35-41.)

I.

At the point at which we propose, in a short series of papers, to consider the great argument of St. Paul, in the fifteenth chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, on the resurrection of the dead, the fact that there will be a resurrection of believers had been already proved. The apostle had established it, in the portion of the chapter preceding ver. 35, by the resurrection of Christ. That Christ was risen was admitted without hesitation by those to whom he wrote. Their whole faith rested upon the conviction, not only that the Lord in whom they believed had died, but on the further truth, that He had been raised again, "according to the Scriptures" (ver. 4). In so far therefore as St. Paul had dwelt upon the fact, and even upon the remarkable chain of evidence by which it was established, he had done this, not so much for the purpose of proving it, as for the purpose of reinvigorating his readers' faith, and of bringing the resurrection of Jesus home to them with liveliness and power. Hence also the degree to which he had enlarged upon the disastrous consequences that would flow to Christian faith and life in general, if Christ had not been raised.

The Corinthian Christians are now supposed to be thoroughly alive to this. No further argument upon that particular point was necessary. It followed that the universal proposition maintained at Corinth, that no one who had died would rise again, was false. One made in all

points like unto His brethren had died and risen from the dead, and His brethren *might* in like manner rise. It followed not less certainly that they *would* rise. The bond of union between Christ and His people was such, that whatever befell Him must also befall them. By the arrangements of that Almighty Being who giveth no account of any of His matters, but whose dealings with His creatures were always infinitely wise and good, they had been so connected with their first parent Adam that they had inherited from him a sinful and mortal nature. It was incontestable that it was so. By a similar Divine arrangement they had inherited from the Christ the principle of spiritual and everlasting life; and again it was incontestable that this, not less than the former, was the case. As then they had become what the one was, so they had been made partakers of what the Other was. In the coming forth of Jesus from the grave they beheld only the resurrection of the First-born, to be followed in due time by that of the other members of His family; the dedication of the first sheaf of harvest in the unending and joyful service of the Father, to be followed by a similar dedication of the other sheaves of the harvest-field.

The argument was closed, but difficulties still remained which might weaken its force. Questions might still be asked, answers to which inquiring spirits might fairly expect. The apostle felt that he could not neglect this aspect of the case. He must meet the difficulties, he must answer the questions; and he is to do this by an appeal to the analogy of nature. Analogy cannot indeed demonstrate, and in the passage before us it is not intended to demonstrate, that the thing reasoned about is true. Analogy can only meet a difficulty, although it may do this in an impressive and powerful way. When it is shown that the laws of the spiritual world have laws closely corresponding to them in the natural world, a strong presumption in their

favour is instantly created. The God of grace must be the same as the God of providence, for God is one; and, although we may not understand the processes by which He works, we are prepared to believe that whatever law is met with in the latter may be expected in the former sphere. The principle lies at the bottom of our Lord's method of instruction by parable. There is unity in the whole system of the universe, and everything that illustrates and brings out that unity is probably true. Thus it is then that St. Paul proceeds to answer the difficulties suggested to him.

At ver. 35 an objector is introduced to us: "But some one will say, How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?" Have we here two questions, or one expressed in two different forms? When we turn to the answer contained in the following verses, the probability is that we have two: the first referring to the *process* of the resurrection; the second, to its *result*: the first concerned with the difficulty of imagining that a resurrection should take place at all; the second, with the difficulty of thinking how, if it is to take place, it can do so in a manner adapted to a heavenly world and existence there. That the latter thought is involved in the second question appears not only from the general strain of the reply, but from the singular use of the word "come." St. Paul does not say "come out of their graves" or "come into the world again." He says simply "come." "With what manner of body do they come?" The coming of Christ, with whom His saints come, is in his mind; and it was not inappropriate to transfer that thought to the mind of an objector who, notwithstanding his present difficulties, believed in the second coming of his Lord.

The two objections taken together are most natural; nor are they less natural now than they were then. We stand by the bedside of a Christian friend who has just uttered

his last word or breathed his last sigh. Still more, we stand by the open grave, and see the body deposited in its last resting-place, till it is for ever hidden from our sight by the earth that has been filled in to cover it. We think of its helplessness, and of its insensibility to the sorrow of the surrounding mourners. Nay, we remember even that already the process of corruption has begun, and that but a short time will pass before dust will have returned to dust, no member of the cherished form, no feature of the loved face, discernible; and, when we think of all this, it is in no spirit of scepticism or scorn, but in one of deep perplexity and anxiety, that we ask, "How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they come?" Satisfy us only upon that point, we exclaim, and many of our doubts will vanish. Let us see that it may be so, let us obtain some intelligent conception of the manner in which it will take place, and we shall ask no more. The chamber of death has awakened many to a purer and a nobler life. But is it not equally true, that the sight of the dead has instilled, and even now instils, into many a mind the suspicion that a resurrection is an impossibility, and that the Christianity of which it is a central part is no more than a beautiful but sad delusion? Therefore may we well try to understand what the apostle says upon the point.

To the first question before us the answer is given in ver. 36: "Foolish one" (certainly not "thou fool" of the A.V., hardly even "thou foolish one" of the R.V.), "that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened, except it die." Every one allows that there is such a thing in nature as a quickening. We see it in the seeds which, when sown under proper conditions, spring up in new forms of life. But something precedes this change, and what is that? The apostle answers, Death. But what again is death? We can be at no loss for a reply; for modern science has established with a certainty upon which it is impossible to

cast a doubt, that in no case is the death of a body the destruction of the particles of which it had been previously composed. Nature knows nothing of annihilation. Whatever has been continues to be. It may be changed into other shapes, it may pass into other things; but it is never wholly blotted out from that state of *being* into which it has once been introduced. Death therefore is not destruction: it is simply disorganization, the dissolution of the bond which held the old particles together in their old sphere of existence, that they may enter upon a new one. Not only so. An entirely new form of life cannot be obtained, except through the disorganization of the old. As our Lord Himself said, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground, and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit" (John xii. 24). We take a corn of wheat into our hands. It is dry and hard, a small body which will keep for many years without the slightest apparent change; and which, so long as it is thus kept, will produce nothing, although it may waste by a process of decay so slow as to be imperceptible. On the other hand, we drop it into the soil, and thus supply it with the conditions taught us by experience to be necessary for the result we are desirous to secure. Disorganization immediately begins; and, lo! instead of remaining any longer what it was, a change sets in. The husk of the seed is broken by some internal power. A little shoot issues forth in the dark bosom of the earth. That shoot parts into two directions, in one of which it goes downward, a thin, white, pulpy fibre, while in the other it pushes upward, seeks the free air of heaven, and appears as a green stalk, sending forth leaves, lengthening the stalk, and crowning it with the ear of corn. We call this a passing through death, says the apostle. But call it by any name you please. What you really have is disorganization, decay, corruption, such a mingling of the particles of the seed with those of the

surrounding soil that you cannot separate them. Yet out of that disorganization, decay, corruption, and mingling of particles, there comes a new form of life and loveliness.

It is no doubt true that the seed was never what we call dead. There was always a principle of life in it. But who shall say that there is not a principle of life in the believer which the cold hand of death cannot chill, which the power of death can only set free and not destroy? In the infant of an hour old are there not undeveloped powers of nature? May there not be also in it undeveloped powers of grace which no physical analysis can discover, and no principles of physiology explain? And why may not he who has been united to a living Lord have in him some principle of life which is only emancipated when the last look is taken and the last sigh breathed?

One remark may be made in passing. Have we not here an answer to a difficulty felt by many minds upon this point? It is said that, whatever may be the case in the vegetable kingdom, the animal kingdom supplies us with no instance of death producing life. "The animal creation dies; but where, in all the mouldering ruins of that empire which life once animated, is there any sign or token of its restoration?"¹ The question is a sad one; and, when we hear it, what a world of wreckage and of ruin spreads out on every side before the eye! But the answer is, In the lower animal creation there is no principle of union with the living Lord, there is no principle of life which death cannot touch. In the case of the believer it is otherwise. Christ is risen, and is at the right hand of the Father. That is the proposition from which we start. But, if He is risen and at the right hand of the Father, then just as in the seed there is a principle of life at the moment when we commit it to the soil, so in the believer, at the moment of death, there is that principle of union with an exalted Lord

¹ Hanna, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, p. 114.

which is ready to spring up into quickened life when the poor frame in which it has been sheltered for a time returns to corruption.

Nor does it make any essential difference that in the one case the plant begins immediately to spring up, that in the other centuries after centuries may pass before the quickened frame is bestowed. The seed does not immediately sprout unless it is immediately sown; in other words, unless the conditions of God's plan are complied with. In the case of the believer the apostle has taught us in this very chapter that one of these conditions is "at His coming." "Each in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; then they that are Christ's, at His coming" (ver. 23). The time fixed in the Almighty's counsels for the rising of His saints has not yet arrived. They are not to take part in the contest which their Lord carries on by means of the saints still living in the flesh. They rest, they wait; and He can keep them safe till those conditions are supplied in the midst of which their principle of life shall be clothed with its appropriate frame.

The first question of ver. 35 has been answered; and at ver. 37 St. Paul proceeds to answer the second, "With what manner of body do they come?" It would appear from his reply that there are especially three difficulties in connexion with the matter which he feels it necessary to meet.

1. Is the body to be bestowed at the resurrection to be the same body that we possess now? It neither need nor will be so, is the apostle's answer. It need not be so; for, if we look around us upon the works of God, we behold everywhere tokens of the inexhaustible resources of His Almighty hand. There is no limitation to His power, no end to the variety in which all things, whether in heaven or earth, are made. Look for a moment at the vegetable world. How diversified are the trees, the shrubs, the

flowers, the vegetables, the grasses, the mosses of the field ! There might have been a few forms only, yet there are forms without number and without end. Trace the ascending scale from the lowest to the highest ; pause at any round of the ladder, and diverge into the side groups which bear the marks of belonging to the common type—everywhere something new, something different from what we have seen. Let us take even two specimens of the same species into our hand, and we shall find that they are not the same. Submit the smallest corresponding parts of these specimens to a close examination, and we shall find that a similar law holds. No two leaves of the same tree, no two blades of grass, are in every respect the same.

In the animal world the same thing is again perceptible. The various animals of the earth, of the air, and of the sea are all different from one another ; and how infinite is the variety of their forms ! From the huge elephant to the tiniest insect that lights upon a leaf, from the great eagle that soars far beyond the ken of human eye to the smallest bird that chirps upon the spray, from leviathan, the mightiest monster that plays in the great deep, down to the little minnow of the brook, every conceivable variety of figure and habit and life !

Nay, further. From the creatures of earth let us pass to the orbs of heaven, to sun and moon and stars ; and, once more, they differ. Even to the imperfect vision of man they are distinguished from one another. The constituent elements of each group, the basis of the substance of each, may be the same ; yet upon that one basis is built up the infinite variety that meets the eye upon every side. Each group differs from other groups, and within each group the individual objects also differ. The apostle indeed applies this thought only to the second group when he says that all are “flesh,” yet “not the same flesh.” Perhaps he did not know that the same remark might have been made as to

the first; and certainly he did not know, what is one of the latest discoveries of the spectroscope, that it might have been made as to the third. But we know that, in the fundamental molecules of their nature, each group is the same. Few and simple are the materials with which the Creator works; and yet with them, above below around us, we see forms so utterly inexhaustible in number that the mind is bewildered in the attempt to grasp them.

What then is the conclusion? There is no need that the body to be given us at the great day should be the same as it is now. He who has made all things has an infinite store of forms at His command.

If however our resurrection bodies need not be the same, neither will they be the same, as our present bodies. Had this not been the case St. Paul would at once have said so. His argument proceeds upon the supposition that they will be different, and is only intelligible if we accept that supposition as correct. Besides this, it is plainly implied in the contrast drawn by him between the "bare grain" and the future plant. He does not bring the former into comparison with the grains of the same kind with which the ear of corn is filled, but with the whole plant which springs from it; and to the most careless glance these are entirely unlike each other. Another comparison leading to the same conclusion is made by him in 2 Corinthians v. 1-3, when he contrasts "the earthly house of our tabernacle, to be dissolved," with the "building from God, the house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens"; when he speaks of our "habitation which is from heaven," and anticipates the hour at which, being clothed, we shall not be found *γυμνοί*, the *γυμνόν* of the present passage. The resurrection body will not then be the body we possess now. What degree of resemblance it may have to this last, how far it may be identified with it, in what respects it may in both stages still be *ours*, may receive further elucidation as

St. Paul proceeds. In the meantime we have only to do with the fact that it will not be the same. Again therefore we may stand by the bed of death or the open grave, and St. Paul will say to us, Do not perplex yourselves with the idea that the particles of that frame already returning to corruption will on the morning of the resurrection be reunited as you see them. What you see is only the outward husk of the principle of life contained in the seed. When the seed germinates it will spring up something wholly different to the outward eye.

2. The second difficulty which the apostle has to meet is this, Will the bodies to be bestowed at the resurrection be adapted to the new condition of things then introduced? When men heard of a body to be inhabited by the spirit in the heavenly world, they naturally thought of the body possessed by them in this world. They had neither heard of nor seen any other, and no thought of any other could occur to them. But, if so, was not this at variance with all that they otherwise knew of that better land, which was the goal of their hopes and expectations? Whatever else that land might be, it was surely a land of light and glory, of freedom from pain and sorrow and death. What harmony could there be between such a land and the present bodies of believers, wearied with toil, subject to disease, tormented with pains, liable at any moment to become the spoil of the last enemy of man? Yet what else was there to look for? Or, if we are after all persuaded that there will be a new body, what assurance have we that it will be suitable to the light and glory that we anticipate in the heavenly world? We see the answer to this difficulty in the fact that there runs through St. Paul's argument more than the thought of many forms already dwelt on. Not only is there an infinite variety of forms, but these are everywhere adapted to the scene in which they play their part. The plants and beasts of the earth,

the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, are not only different from each other, they are also, whatever the seed or germ from which they spring, in perfect harmony with their surroundings.

It is interesting to notice the manner in which this thought comes out, incidentally rather than directly, the unpremeditated expression of a state of habitual conviction, rather than of argument, deliberately sought for and used at the moment. The word "*glory*" is the key to it. Why say, "There is one *glory* of the sun, and another *glory* of the moon, and another *glory* of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in *glory*." Why not rather say, There is one nature of the sun, and another nature of the moon, and another nature of the stars; for one star differeth from another? Because it is the firmament of heaven in its splendour by day, it is the star-bespangled sky by night, of which St. Paul is thinking. That firmament, that sky, is a glorious spectacle, and each orb of light that shines in it is fitted to hang from such a glowing roof; each is a *glory*. True, St. Paul extends the thought to things of earth, to terrestrial as well as celestial bodies, but he may do so with propriety; for "the *glory* of the celestial is one, and the *glory* of the terrestrial is another." Everywhere *glory*; yet not alone in the idea of the object itself, but in the idea of its adaptation to its surroundings, does the "*glory*" lie; and, once the mind takes hold of this idea, it sees *glory* everywhere. The correspondences of nature, in short, are so universal and so marked, as to assure us, that whatever body the Almighty gives His children at the coming of the Lord will be perfectly conformable to "the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

The second difficulty, like the first, has been met by a consideration of the analogies supplied by nature. These analogies show us that there is no need to fear that there cannot be a resurrection body adapted to a resurrection

life. He who gives to each beast and bird and fish and orb of heaven its suitableness to the sphere in which it is to move will not fail to see that the frame destined to be the eternal home of the redeemed spirit shall be suitable to its future heavenly abode.

3. A third difficulty has still to be met. For if, at the resurrection, the body is to be so different from what it is at present, will it be *our* body? Shall we when clothed with it be the same persons that we are now? Shall our personal identity be preserved? This question is perhaps not met so fully as the two already considered, because the answer is implied in the whole course of the argument. Yet it would seem to be distinctly in the apostle's mind, and his view upon the point comes out more particularly in ver. 38. Speaking there of the springing seed, he says, "But God giveth it a body even as it pleased Him, and to each seed a body of its own." According to the later reading, there is no article before ἴδιον σῶμα; and its absence makes a difference in the sense. Τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα would mean a body distinct from other bodies, just as the plant which springs from a grain of wheat is distinct from that which springs from a grain of barley. The emphasis would thus be laid on the fact already considered, that God has such an infinite variety of bodies at His command, that He can have no difficulty in providing His people at the resurrection with the bodies which they may require, and which shall be suitable to their new sphere of life. Ἰδιον σῶμα, without the article, means that God does not merely make, as it were, a draft upon universal matter in order to find a body for the risen believer, but that He gives him a body of which it can be said, "That is his own body: it corresponds to what *he* is"; and inasmuch as he rose the same man as he died (otherwise we need not speak of a resurrection), it corresponds to what he *was* when he lived on earth. Emphasis is thus laid upon a new fact. The plant which

springs from a grain of wheat is, not only distinct from that which springs from a grain of barley, it corresponds to what the grain of wheat in itself was. How, in what particulars, the correspondence is to be traced, the apostle does not say. He could not. Put a plant of wheat and one of barley along with a grain of wheat and one of barley into the hands of one wholly devoid of experience in these matters, and he certainly could not tell us which of the plants belonged to either grain. Even with experience he can only say, "The one plant belongs to the one grain, the other to the other." There is a correspondence between each pair, so that the grain of wheat could have given rise to no plant but the one, the grain of barley to no plant but the other. The grain of wheat has passed into the plant of wheat, the grain of barley into the plant of barley. Identity is preserved through all the changes which the grains have severally undergone.

What has now been said is still further brought out by the contrast of tenses used by the apostle in ver. 38, "God giveth" (*δίδωσιν*), the present, "even as it pleased Him" (*καθὼς ἠθέλησεν*), the definite historic past. Why not "God giveth even as it pleaseth Him"? Because then we should see no law regulating His procedure. He might still indeed bestow a body in such a way as to preserve the identity which is so important; but we might not see that, in doing so, He acted upon a fixed principle. We should be unable to resist the fear that He might choose at one moment one form of body for the plant rising from one kind of seed, and then again another form of body for the same plant. He does not however act thus. He acts upon a law which He has laid down for Himself. It is His eternal will that, through whatever changes the seed or the germ of life passes, there shall be something that connects its latest with its earliest stage.¹

¹ "The *καθὼς ἠθέλησεν*, pointing back to the time when at His bidding the

Nor does the doctrine of the transmutation of species affect the argument. It has been said that it weakens the analogy. "It does not destroy it altogether, because the transmutation, if it occurs at all, is brought about too slowly to be perceptible to the eye. We see only wheat springing from a grain of wheat; and this is enough for the apostle's purpose. The analogy is not the proof."¹ The remark appears to be only so far, not wholly, just. Whatever measure of apparent transmutation of species there may be, it is always within certain lines which fix down the final form of the transmutation to one particular beginning, and not another. The slowness of transmutation too, although in insect life it is often exceedingly rapid, is nothing to the purpose. It is the keeping of the same lines, so that there shall always in the last be something of the first, that is the apostle's point; and the principle of the Creator's government laid down in the words, "to each seed a body of its own," at once disposes, by analogy, of the difficulty with which he deals.

Changes indeed as great as those here referred to go on continually in the case of man, while we yet remain conscious that we are the same persons that we were. The observation need hardly be repeated, that the particles of our bodies undergo a complete change in the course of a comparatively small number of years. It is of more consequence to notice that the particles lost by us have already entered, or will certainly soon enter, into the bodies of other men whose individuality is as distinct as ours. Yet neither our identity nor that of these others is thereby

earth brought forth the 'herb yielding seed after his kind' (Gen. i. 12), and when each seed and the body into which it was to develop were bound by creative wisdom in enduring organic unity" (Ellicott *in loc.*). Comp. also Edwards *in loc.*: "The aorist denotes the first act of God's will determining the constitution of nature. The present expresses the necessary activity of God in the production of every single growth."

¹ Edwards *in loc.*

affected. The very thing which we are apt to think cannot happen has already happened. Transferences not less marvellous than those which are to take place at our death have already taken place with all of us, and are at this moment continually going on in that seething state of existence in which we are all giving and receiving with every breath of air we draw. Disorganization, in a certain sense death, has been long ere now at work in each of us. Others are living by means of what we were. We are living by means of what others were; and yet we live and they live our own independent lives. The memories and experiences of the past were not attached to the particles of our bodies that have disappeared or, in other words, died. They are ours and ours alone, and by no possibility can they become the property of others. If they—that is, if we—do not survive disorganization, death; if we do not survive identical in our personality with what we were, then something as real as the particles of matter has been annihilated; and such a conclusion science contradicts.

Thus then, up to this point, has St. Paul met by analogy the difficulties with which he deals. He has not indeed exhausted his subject. He has much that is positive as well as negative to say. But he has shown “the foolish one,” the unobservant student of nature who, consciously or unconsciously, draws his conclusions from what he believes of nature, that he has not studied nature with sufficient care. It may be perfectly true that nature affords no example of individual resurrection in the sense in which we speak of the resurrection of the believer,

“So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life.”

But St. Paul will not go to nature for his proof of that momentous fact. He will only show that there are processes and laws at work in her which do not contradict it,

which may even prepare us for it if it rest upon other sufficient grounds. In the meantime he only dispels the idea that our resurrection bodies either need or will be the same as our present bodies; that they cannot be bodies at all if they are adapted to a heavenly, not an earthly, world; and that the changes we are to undergo must forbid our being hereafter essentially the same personalities that we are now.

Having accomplished this, St. Paul is free—free from having to deal with doubts or to answer difficulties. He is free to spring exultant from the earth, and to expatiate in that glorious realm of hope which is associated with the thought of his risen and exalted Lord.

W. MILLIGAN.

*INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHENTICITY
AND GENUINENESS OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.*

III.

NOR, when we travel beyond the city and its suburbs, does the writer's knowledge desert him. One instance must suffice; but it is, if I mistake not, so convincing, that it may well serve in place of many.

The country of the Samaritans lay between Judæa and Galilee, so that a person journeying from the one region to the other, unless he were prepared to make a detour, must necessarily pass through it. This was the case with our Lord and His apostles, as related in the fourth chapter. The high-road from Jerusalem passes through some very remarkable scenery. The mountain ridges of Ebal and Gerizim run parallel to each other from east to west, not many hundred feet apart, thus inclosing a narrow valley between them. Eastward this valley opens out into a

plain, a rare phenomenon in this country—"one mass of corn unbroken by a boundary or hedge," as it is described by one who has seen it. Up the valley westward, shut in between these mountain barriers, lies the modern town of Nablûs, the ancient Shechem. The road does not enter the valley, but traverses the plain, running at right angles to the gorge, and thus touching the eastern bases of the mountain ridges as they fall down into the level ground. Here at the mouth of the valley is a deep well, even now descending "to a depth of seventy feet or more," and formerly, before it had been partially filled with accumulated rubbish, we may well believe deeper still. In the words of Dean Stanley :

"Of all the *special* localities of our Lord's life in Palestine, this is almost the only one absolutely undisputed. By the edge of this well, in the touching language of the ancient hymn, 'quærens me sedisti lassus. Here on the great road through which 'He must needs go' when 'He left Judæa, and departed into Galilee,' He halted, as travellers still halt, in the noon or evening of the spring day, by the side of the well. Up that passage through the valley His disciples 'went away into the city,' which He did not enter. Down the same gorge came the woman to draw water, according to the unchanged custom of the East. . . . Above them, as they talked, rose 'this mountain' of Gerizim, crowned by the temple, of which vestiges still remain, where the fathers of the Samaritan sect 'said men ought to worship.' . . . And round about them, as He and she thus sate or stood by the well, spread far and wide the noble plain of waving corn. It was still winter, or early spring, 'four months yet to the harvest,' and the bright golden ears of those fields had not yet 'whitened' their unbroken expanse of verdure. But as He gazed upon them, they served to suggest the glorious vision of the distant harvest of the Gentile world, which with each successive turn of the conversation unfolded itself more and more distinctly before Him, as He sate (so we gather from the narrative) absorbed in the opening prospect, silent amidst His silent and astonished disciples."

The scrupulous accuracy of the geographical and archæological details in St. John's account of the conversation with the Samaritan woman will have appeared already from this quotation. I will only ask you to consider for a moment

how naturally they occur in the course of the narrative, so naturally and so incidentally that without the researches of modern travellers the allusions would be entirely lost to us. I think that this consideration will leave but one alternative. Either you have here written, as we are constantly reminded, in an uncritical age and among an uncritical people, the most masterly piece of romance-writing which the genius and learning of man ever penned in any age; or you have (what universal tradition represents it to be) a genuine work of an eye-witness and companion of our Lord. Which of these two suppositions does less violence to historical probability I will leave to yourselves to determine.

Follow then the narrative in detail. An unknown Traveller is sitting at the well. His garb, or His features, or His destination show Him to be a Jew. A woman of the country comes to draw water from the well, and He asks her to give Him to drink. She is surprised that He, a Jew, is willing to talk so freely to her, a Samaritan. And here I would remark that the explanation which follows, "For the Jews have no dealings with" (or rather, "do not associate with") "the Samaritans," is the evangelist's own, a fact obscured by the ordinary mode of printing in our English Bibles. Hitherto, though the scene is very natural and very real, there is nothing which a fairly clever artist might not have invented. But from this point onwards follow in rapid succession various historical and geographical allusions, various hints of individual character in the woman, various aspects of Divine teaching on our Lord's part, all closely interwoven together, each suggesting and suggested by another, in such a manner as to preclude any hypothesis of romance or forgery. "Thou wouldest have asked, and I would have given thee living water." "Sir, Thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is *deep*. . . . Art Thou greater than our father Jacob?" And so the

conversation proceeds, one point suggesting the next in the most natural way. Take, for instance, the reference to Gerizim. "Sir, I perceive that Thou art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain." Observe that there is no mention in the context of any mountain in the neighbourhood; that even here, where it is mentioned, its name is not given: but suddenly the woman, partly to divert the inconvenient tenour of the conversation, partly to satisfy herself on one important point of difference between the Samaritans and the Jews, avails herself of the newly found prophet's presence, and, pointing to the overhanging heights of Gerizim, puts the question to Him. The mention of the sacred mountain, like the mention of the depth of the well, draws forth a new spiritual lesson. "Not in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem. . . . God is a spirit." The woman saith, "When Messias cometh, He will tell us all things." Jesus saith, "I that speak unto thee am He."

At this point the disciples approach from the valley, with the provisions which they had purchased in the city, and rejoin their Master. They are surprised to find Him so engaged. Here again an error in the English version obscures the sense. Their marvel was, not that He talked with *the* woman, but that He talked with *a* woman. It was a rabbinical maxim, "Let no man talk with a woman in the street (in public), no, not with his own wife." The narrowness of His disciples was shocked that He, their own rabbi, should be so wanting to Himself as to disregard this recognised precept of morality. The narrator assumes the knowledge with which he himself was so familiar.

So the conversation with the woman closes: With natural eagerness she leaves her pitcher, and hurries back to the city with her news. With natural exaggeration she reports there that the stranger has told her all things that ever she did.

A conversation with the disciples follows, which is hardly less remarkable, but from which I must be content to select one illustration only. I think that it must be allowed, that the reference to the harvest is wholly free from suspicion, as regards the manner of its introduction. It is unpremeditated, for it cannot be severed from the previous part of the conversation, out of which it arises. It is unobtrusive, for the passage itself makes no attempt to explain the local allusion (which, without the experience of modern travellers would escape notice): "There are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest. Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest." And yet, when we once realize the scene, when in imagination our eye ranges over that vast expanse of growing corn—so unusual in Palestine, however familiar in corn-growing England—we are at once struck with the truthfulness and the significance of this allusive parable.

I have thus endeavoured to show, by taking a few instances, the accuracy of the writer's knowledge in all that relates to the history, the geography, the institutions, the thoughts and feelings of the Jews. If however we had found accuracy, and nothing more, we might indeed have reasonably inferred that the narrative was written by a Jew of the mother-country, who lived in a very early age, before time and circumstance had obliterated the traces of Palestine, as it existed in the first century; but we could not safely have gone beyond this. But unless I have entirely deceived myself, the manner in which this accurate knowledge betrays itself justifies the further conclusion that we have before us the genuine narrative of an eye-witness, who records the events just as they occurred in natural sequence.

I have discussed the accuracy of the external allusions. Let me now apply another test. The representation of

character is perhaps the most satisfactory criterion of a true narrative, as applied to an age before romance-writing had been studied as an art.

We are all familiar with the principal characters in the gospel history : Peter, John, Philip, Thomas, Pilate, the sisters Mary and Martha, and several others which I might mention ; each standing before us with an individuality, which seems to place him or her within the range of our own personal knowledge. Have we ever asked ourselves to which evangelist above the rest we owe this personal acquaintance with the actors in this great drama ?

When the question is once asked, the answer cannot be doubtful. It is true indeed that we should have known St. Peter without the narrative of the Fourth Evangelist, though he adds several minute points, which give additional life to the portrait. It is true that Pilate is introduced to us in the other gospels, though without St. John we should not have been able to read his heart and character, his proud Roman indifference and his cynical scorn. But, on the other hand, take the case of Thomas. Of this apostle nothing is recorded in the other evangelists, and yet he stands out before us, not as a mere lay figure, on whose stiff, mechanical form the artist may hang a moral precept or a doctrinal lesson by way of drapery, but as a real, living, speaking man, at once doubtful and eager, at once hesitating and devoted—sceptical, not because his nature is cold and unsympathetic, but because his intellect moves more cautiously than his heart, because the momentous issues which belief involves bid him pause before he closes with it ; at one moment endeavouring to divert his Master's purpose of going up to Jerusalem, where certain destruction awaits Him : at the next, ready to share the perils with Him, "Let us also go with Him" ; at one moment resisting the testimony of direct eye-witnesses and faithful friends to his Master's resurrection : at the next, overwhelmed

by the evidence of his senses, and expressing the depth of his conviction in the earnest confession, "My Lord and my God."

I must satisfy myself with one other example. The character of the sisters Martha and Mary presents a striking contrast. They are mentioned once only in the other gospels, in the familiar passage of St. Luke, where they appear respectively as the practical, bustling housewife, who is busied about many things, and the devout, contemplative, absorbed disciple, who chooses the one thing needful. In St. John also this contrast reappears; but the characteristics of the two sisters are brought out in a very subtle way. In St. Luke the contrast is summed up, as it were, in one definite incident; in St. John it is developed gradually in the course of a continuous narrative. And there is also another difference. In St. Luke the contrast is direct and trenchant, a contrast (one might almost say) of light and darkness. But in St. John the characters are shaded off, as it were, into each other. Both alike are beloved by our Lord, both alike send to Him for help, both alike express their faith in His power, both alike show deep sorrow for their lost brother. And yet notwithstanding this the difference of character is perceptible throughout the narrative. It is Martha who, with her restless activity, goes out to meet Jesus, while Mary remains in the house weeping. It is Martha who holds a conversation with Jesus, argues with Him, remonstrates with Him, and in the very crisis of their grief shows her practical common sense in deprecating the removal of the stone. It is Mary who goes forth silently to meet Him, silently and tearfully, so that the bystanders suppose her to be going to weep at her brother's tomb; who, when she sees Jesus, falls down at His feet; who, uttering the same words of faith in His power as Martha, does not qualify them with the reservation; who infects all the bystanders with the intensity

of her sorrow, and crushes the human spirit of our Lord Himself with sympathetic grief.

And when we turn to the second occasion in which the two sisters are introduced by St. John, the contrast is still the same. Martha is busied in the homely duties of hospitality towards Jesus and her other guests; but Mary brings her choicest and most precious gift to bestow upon Him, at the same time showing the depth of her humility and the abandonment of her devotion by wiping His feet with her hair.

In all this narrative the evangelist does not once direct attention to the contrast between the two sisters. He simply relates the events of which he was an eye-witness without a comment. But the two were real, living persons, and therefore the difference of character between them develops itself in action.

I have shown hitherto that, whatever touchstone we apply, the Fourth Gospel vindicates itself as a trustworthy narrative, which could only have proceeded from a contemporary and an eye-witness. But nothing has hitherto been adduced which leads to the identification of the author as the Apostle St. John. Though sufficient has been said to vindicate the *authenticity*, the *genuineness* is yet untouched.

It is said by those who deny its apostolic origin, that the unknown author, living in the middle of the second century, and wishing to gain a hearing for a modified gospel suited to the wants of his age, dropped his own personality, and shielded himself under the name of St. John the son of Zebedee.

Is this a true representation of the fact? Is it not an entire though unconscious misrepresentation? John is not once mentioned by name throughout the twenty-one chapters of this Gospel. James and John, the sons of

Zebedee, occupy a prominent place in all the other evangelists. In this Fourth Gospel alone neither brother's name occurs. The writer does once, it is true, speak of the "sons of Zebedee"; but in this passage, which occurs in the last chapter (xxi. 2), there is not even the faintest hint of any connexion between the writer himself and this pair of brothers. He mentions them in the third person, as he might mention any character whom he had occasion to introduce.

Now is not this wholly unlike the proceeding of a forger who was simulating a false personality? Would it not be utterly irrational under these circumstances to make no provision for the identification of the author, but to leave everything to the chapter of accidents? No discredit, indeed, is thrown on the genuineness of a document by the fact that the author's name appears on the forefront. This is the case with the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides; it is the case also with the epistles of Paul and Peter and James, and with the Apocalypse of John. But, on the supposition of forgery, it was a matter of vital moment that the work should be accepted as the genuine production of its pretended author. The two instances of early Christian forgeries which I brought forward in an earlier part of this lecture will suffice as illustrations. The *Gospel of the Infancy* closes with a distinct declaration that it was written by James. The *Clementine Homilies* affirm the pretended authorship in the opening words, "I Clement, being a Roman citizen." Even if our supposed forger could have exercised this unusual self-restraint in suppressing the simulated author's name, would he not have made it clear by some allusion to his brother James, or to his father Zebedee, or to his mother Salome? The policy which he has adopted is as suicidal as it is unexpected.

How then do we ascertain that it was written by John the son of Zebedee? I answer, first of all, that it is tradi-

tionally ascribed to him, as the *Phædo* is ascribed to Plato, or the *Antigone* to Sophocles; and, secondly, that from a careful examination of indirect allusions and casual notices, from a comparison of things said and things unsaid, we arrive at the same result by a process independent of external tradition. But a forger could not have been satisfied with trusting to either of these. External tradition was quite beyond the reach of his control. In this particular case, as we shall see, the critical investigation requisite is so subtle, and its subject-matter lies so far below the surface, that a forger, even supposing him capable of constructing the narrative, would have defeated his own purpose by making such demands on his readers.

For let us follow out this investigation. In the opening chapter of the gospel there is mention of a certain disciple whose name is not given (i. 35, 37, 40). This anonymous person (for it is a natural, though not a certain inference, that the same is meant throughout) reappears again in the closing scene before and after the passion, where he is distinguished as the disciple whom Jesus loved? At length, but not till the concluding verses of the Gospel, we are told that this anonymous disciple is himself the writer: "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things."

In accordance with this statement we find that those particular scenes in which this anonymous disciple is recorded as taking a part are related with peculiar minuteness and vividness of detail. Such is the case, for instance, with the notices of the Baptist and of the call of the earliest disciples. Such again is the case with the conversation at the last supper, with the scene over the fire in the hall of Caiaphas's house, with certain other incidents connected with the crucifixion, and with the scene on the Lake of Galilee after the resurrection.

Who then is this anonymous disciple? On this point

the Gospel furnishes no information. We arrive at the identification, partly by a process of exhaustion, partly by attention to some casual incidents and expressions.

Comparing the accounts in the other gospels, it seems safe to assume that he was one of the inner circle of disciples. This inner circle comprised the two pairs of brothers, Peter and Andrew, James and John—if indeed Andrew deserves a place here. Now he cannot have been Andrew, because Andrew appears in company with him in the opening chapter; nor can he have been Peter, because we find him repeatedly associated with Peter in the closing scenes. Again, James seems to be excluded; for James fell an early martyr, and external and internal evidence alike point to a later date for this Gospel. Thus by a process of exhaustion we are brought to identify him with John the son of Zebedee.

With this identification all the particulars agree.

First. He is called among the earliest disciples; and from his connexion with Andrew (i. 40, 44) it may be inferred that he was a native of Bethsaida in the neighbourhood.

Secondly. At the close of his Master's life, and after his Master's resurrection, we find him especially associated with Simon Peter. This position exactly suits John, who in the earliest days of the Church takes his place by the side of Peter in the championship of faith.

Thirdly. Unless the beloved disciple be John the son of Zebedee, this person who occupies so prominent a place in the account of the other evangelists, and who stood in the foremost rank in the estimation of the early Church as a pillar apostle, does not once appear in the Fourth Gospel, except in the one passage where "the sons of Zebedee" are mentioned and summarily dismissed in a mere enumeration of names. Such a result is hardly credible.

Lastly. Whereas in the other evangelists John the

Baptist is very frequently distinguished by the addition of this surname, and always so distinguished where there is any possibility of confusing him with the son of Zebedee, in this gospel alone the forerunner is never once called John the Baptist. To others some distinguishing epithet seemed needed. To the son of Zebedee there was only one famous John ; and therefore when he had occasion to mention him, he naturally spoke of him as John simply, without any addition. Is it conceivable, I would ask, that any forger would have lost sight of himself so completely, and used natural language of John the son of Zebedee with such success, as to observe this very minute and unobtrusive indication of personality ?

I have addressed myself more directly to the theory of the Tübingen school, either as propounded by Baur, or as modified by later critics, which denies at once the historical character of this Gospel and its apostolic authorship, and places it in the middle or latter half of the second century. But there is an intermediate position between rejecting its worth as a historic record and accepting St. John as its author, and this position has been taken up by some. They suppose it to have been composed by some disciple or disciples of St. John from reminiscences of their master's teaching, and thus they are prepared to allow that it contains some historical matter which is valuable. You will have seen however that most of the arguments adduced, though not all, are equally fatal to this hypothesis as the other. The process by which, after establishing its authenticity, we succeeded in identifying its author is, if I mistake not, alone sufficient to overthrow this solution. Indeed this theory is exposed to a double set of objections, and it has nothing to recommend it.

I have already taken up more time than I had intended, and yet I feel that very much has been left unsaid. But I

venture to hope that certain lines of investigation have been indicated, which, if carefully and soberly followed out, can only lead to one result. Whatever consequences may follow from it, we are compelled on critical grounds to accept this Fourth Gospel as the genuine work of John the son of Zebedee.

Some among my hearers perhaps may be disappointed that I have not touched on some well-known difficulties, though these have been grossly exaggerated. Some have to be satisfactorily explained; of others probable, or at least possible, solutions have been given; while others still remain on which we are obliged to suspend judgment until some new light of history is vouchsafed. It is not from too much light, but from too little light, that the historical credibility of this Gospel has suffered. Each new discovery made, each old fact elucidated sets at rest some disputed question. If the main fact of the genuineness be established, the special difficulties can well afford to wait.

One word more, and I conclude. I have treated this as a purely critical question, carefully eschewing any appeal to Christian instincts. As a critical question, I wish to take a verdict upon it. But as I could not have you think that I am blind to the theological issues directly or indirectly connected with it, I will close with this brief confession of faith. I believe from my heart that the truth which this Gospel more especially enshrines—the truth that Jesus Christ is the very Word incarnate, the manifestation of the Father to mankind—is the one lesson which, duly apprehended, will do more than all our feeble efforts to purify and elevate human life here by imparting to it hope and light and strength, the one study which alone can fitly prepare us for a joyful immortality hereafter.

J. B. DUNELM.

PSALMS CXIII.-CXVIII.

THE lawgiver of whom later ages formed so high an opinion, that they might seem to be groping their way to a conception of Christ,¹—the lawgiver after whom the first five books of the Old Testament are named, took up and sanctified certain customary Semitic festivals, which had their origin in the changing phenomena of the seasons. By connecting these with the great deliverance which made Israel, ideally at least, a Church-nation, he converted them into picture-lessons of the mighty works of Jehovah, which, as a psalmist said, God “commanded Israel’s forefathers to teach their children.”² But as time went on, each of these festivals received a still richer meaning through the new associations attached to it by history; and the Feast of Tabernacles in particular, as it came round autumn by autumn, revived grateful recollections of two of the greatest events in the post-Exile period, *viz.* the rebuilding of the altar of burnt offering, in B.C. 538,³ and the recovery of the public means of grace, B.C. 165, when Judas the Maccabee again rebuilt the altar, and the faithful Jews rejoiced eight days, to compensate for the miserable Feast of Tabernacles which they had so recently kept “in the mountains and in the caves like wild beasts.”⁴ The 118th Psalm has been explained by Ewald from the former and by Hitzig from the latter event. Certain, or at least highly probable, it is that it was Simon, the second and more ideal David or Solomon of the Israelites, who re-organized the temple service with special regard to the psalmody, and appointed the group of psalms called the Hallel, or Song of Praise (Pss. cxiii.-cxviii.), to be sung on the eight successive days of the Feast of Tabernacles.

¹ See the apocryphal book called the *Assumption of Moses*.

² Ps. lxxviii. 5.

³ Ezra iii. 1-6.

⁴ 1 Macc. iv. 44-47, 56; 2 Macc. x. 6.

Read these psalms in the light of this great period, and they will gain vastly in colour, warmth, and meaning. Read the 118th Psalm in particular, and all that may have shocked you in it becomes pathetically intelligible. Can you not imagine the deep thankfulness and impassioned love to God with which, as long as the memory of these events was recent, the priests, shaking their festal branches, moved in procession round the altar, chanting again and again the 25th verse,

"Ah, Jehovah! save (still);

Ah, Jehovah! send prosperity (still)"?

I must confess however with some regret, at least from a Church point of view, that Psalm cxviii. is not throughout as congenial to Christianity as could be wished. The Huguenots, who used it as a battle-song, showed thereby that they knew not "what spirit they were of."¹ And if even Luther, to whom evangelical doctrine was so dear, and who was free from the excessive regard for the Old Testament displayed by the French Protestants, called this psalm, at one great crisis in his fortunes, his "proper comfort and life," he could only do this by qualifying some verses of it (see vers. 10-12) with an infusion of later Christian truth. The Authorized Version indeed does not permit the English reader to realize fully the fierceness of the original expressions.² Reuss and Bruston, translating for students, are less considerate; the one gives, "*Je les taille en pièces,*" the other, "*Je les massacre.*" So that coming fresh from the tender meditations in Psalm cxvi. (written perhaps a little later by some one who had not gone into battle "with the high praises of God in his mouth and a two-edged sword in his hand"), the Anglican worshipper is conscious of an effort as he reads or sings

¹ Luke ix. 55.

² The margin, however, gives "Heb. cut down"; R.V. renders, "*I will cut them off.*"

it in the congregation.¹ The biblical student however is delighted with the psalm, because it gives us a contemporary record, not indeed of the facts, but of the feelings of the period. Judas the Maccabee was a divinely inspired hero, but he was as ruthless as, if we may follow Joshua x., xi., Joshua was of old to the Canaanites. He was a very Elijah in prayer (see the prayer reported in 1 Maccabees iv. 30-33), as well as in "jealousy" for the name of Jehovah; but he had not the versatility by which the ancient prophet passed from the declaration of awful judgments to the relief of the necessities of a poor heathen woman. But how can we blame him for his limitations? Ardent natures could not restrain themselves when the future of the true religion was at stake. The "flashing zeal" of Judas and his friends purified the moral atmosphere, and for good and evil affected subsequent periods. "Fanatics" is too mean a title for those who sang these words:

"Should not I hate them, Jehovah, that hate thee?

And loathe them that rebel against thee?

I hate them with perfect hatred;

*I count them mine enemies."*²

Once, and once only, in the New Testament the Maccabean times are referred to; it is in the noble eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Does the writer blame the Jews for the fierceness and bitterness of their struggle? No; he forgets it, or, rather, sees underneath it that absolute, rock-like faith which, as he says, is "the

¹ It is significant that none of the accounts of Christ's purification of the temple suggest that He thought of the purification of Judas; the quotations are from passages of a more spiritual tone than Ps. cxviii. Soon afterwards He *does* quote from this psalm, but with reference to another subject (see Mark xii. 10, 11). We must not, however, overlook the expressions of humility and faith which are not wanting in Ps. cxviii. (see especially vers. 18-18).

² Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22. Written obviously before the Maccabean revolt, but well expressing the thoughts of its leaders. Prof. Reuss (art. "Asmonäer" in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*) heartily admits that Judas the Maccabee stands alone in his greatness among fanatics.

assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen."

Now I think that we English people are to be blamed for our ignorance of these stirring times. In spite of Handel's grand musical reminder, it is but seldom that we find in our literature such a happy reference to the Maccabæan story as that made by Edmund Burke in these words:

"I am as sure as I am of my being, that one vigorous man, confiding in the aid of God, with a just reliance on his own fortitude, would first draw to him some few like himself, and then that multitudes hardly thought to be in existence would appear and troop around him. Why should not a Maccabæus and his brethren arise to assert the honour of the ancient law, and to defend the temple of their forefathers, with as ardent a spirit as can inspire any innovator to destroy the monuments, the piety, and the glory of the ancient ages?"¹

It is possible that our popular religious literature (which few men can profess to know thoroughly) might yield a few striking allusions.² But I can myself only recall the late Bishop Wordsworth's stirring exhortation to resist the removal of the real, or supposed, safeguards of Christianity in England, in two sermons preached at Cambridge, as I believe, in 1871.³

If the truth must be told, this unacquaintance with one of the great epochs in the history of our religion is of purely Protestant origin; we ignore the Books of Maccabees equally with the glorious Book of Wisdom, because they form part of the Apocrypha. On this, as on some other points, the greatest mediæval poet shows a wider spirit than many moderns. Among Dante's references to the

¹ Burke, "Letter to Wm. Elliot, Esq." (*Works*, vii. 366); quoted by the late Bishop Wordsworth.

² Since the above was written, Prof. Church and Mr. Seeley have undertaken to interest the novel-reading public in the stirring times of the Maccabees (*The Hammer*, Seeley & Co.). The present writer does not venture to recommend what he has not read, but Prof. Church's reputation as a scholar and a historical novelist justifies the expectation that this last product of his skilful pen will be equal to its predecessors.

³ *The Church of England and the Maccabees*. Second edition, 1876.

Maccabees, who does not admire that noble passage where, in the cross of Mars, next after Joshua, shines resplendent "the lofty Maccabee"?¹ It is not that he neglects the heroes of the Scriptures correctly called canonical; few poets have known the simple Bible-story better than he: but he has a conception of the religious history of Israel which, though of course not critical, is yet as complete as our own too often, from our neglect of the Apocrypha, is incomplete. The services of the Church helped him in this. In the time of St. Augustine² the Latin Church had already sanctified the kalends of August as the spiritual "birthday of the Maccabees," by which was meant, not the entrance into rest of the five heroic sons of Mattathias, but that of the seven sons of a fervently believing mother, whose death of torture is related in 2 Maccabees vii.³ Probably this great episode in the story of the Maccabees was all that was generally known in the Christian Church. "The seven Maccabees" seems to have been a common phrase; and to these martyrs, according to St. Augustine, a basilica was dedicated at Antioch, "ut simul sonet et nomen persecutoris et memoria coronatoris." How popular the festival (*πανήγυρις*) of the Maccabees was at Antioch we know from St. Chrysostom, whose works contain two sermons "on the holy Maccabees and their mother."⁴ St. Gregory Nazianzen has also left us an oration on the same subject, largely based on the so called fourth Book of Maccabees.⁵ All these eloquent Fathers (to whom a Syriac-writing theo-

¹ *Paradise* xviii. 37-42. The dramatic scene (so familiar to us from Raphael) of the discomfiture of Heliodorus forms the subject of another striking passage. William Caxton has also a fine reference to Judas Maccabæus in his preface to our English epic of *Morte d'Arthur*.

² See Sermons CCC. and CCCI. (*Opera*, ed. Ben., V. 1218, etc.).

³ Cf. Mr. Rendall's note on Heb. xi. 35.

⁴ *Opera*, ed. 1636, I. 516, etc., 552, etc.; cf. V. 972 (Serm. LXV.).

⁵ Orat. XXII. (*Opera*, ed. 1630, I. 397, etc.). The oration is very fine, but the phrases are borrowed. The preacher draws very largely, as I have said, on 4 Maccabees, which Freudenthal has shown to be most probably a Hellenistic-Jewish sermon.

logian might, if space allowed, be added) dwell much on the essentially Christian character of these heroes of faith—none however as forcibly as St. Augustine, whose words may be here quoted as applying to others besides the martyrs specially commemorated on August 1st :

“Nec quisquam arbitretur, antequam esset populus Christianus, nullum fuisse populum Deo. Immo vero, ut sic loquar, quemadmodum se veritas habet, non nominum consuetudo, Christianus etiam ille tunc populus fuit. Neque enim post passionem suam coepit habere populum Christus : sed illius populus erat ex Abraham genitus. . . . Nondum quidem erat mortuus Christus ; sed Martyres eos fecit moriturus Christus.”¹

The early martyrdoms of the Syrian persecution have found no *vatem sacrum* in the Psalter. The next scene in the history is the flight of the aged priest Mattathias and his five sons to the desert mountains, where the faithful Jews gather round them. According to St. Chrysostom this situation is presupposed in Psalm xlv. Many modern students lean to this view, and though the psalm falls short of the faith in the resurrection so nobly expressed by the martyrs according to 2 Maccabees vii., yet there are the gravest reasons for doubting whether the doctrine of the resurrection was generally accepted in the Jewish Church as early as B.C. 167. Certainly Psalms cxvi. and cxviii. do not give the impression that these writers were wholly emancipated from the fear of death. The “rest” spoken of in cxvi. 7 is probably that of an assured tenure of earthly life, not that of which Richard Baxter writes in the lines :

“Lord, it belongs not to my care
Whether I die or live ;
To love and serve Thee is my share,
And this Thy grace must give.”

The psalmist may have advanced beyond his fellow singer, who cried out in the agony of his soul, less as an

¹ *Opera*, ed. Ben., V. 1218, 1219.

individual than as a Churchman, to whom a share in the "felicity of God's chosen"¹ is far more than isolated happiness,—

*"Return, Jehovah, deliver my soul,
Save me, for thy lovingkindness' sake.
For in Death there is no mention of thee;
In Hades who will give thee thanks?"*²

But not many days before he did ejaculate the first part of his "bitter cry" (see Ps. cxvi. 4), and it is only the presence of a sort of undertone in some parts of Psalms cxvi. and cxviii. which permits us to hope that the writers had now and then been visited by glimpses of the fair prospect opened in the 16th and other kindred psalms. I refer to such passages as cxvi. 15 :

*"A weighty thing in the sight of Jehovah
Is the death of his loving ones"* ;

and the refrain which recurs in Psalm cxviii.,—

"For his lovingkindness endureth for ever" ;

on the former of which St. Chrysostom finely remarks, connecting it with ver. 12, "He includes it among God's bounties, that not only the life, but the death of the saints is a matter for which He cares."

Yes, the Maccabæan psalms do not at first present a very consistent psychological picture; and it is only by thinking ourselves into the peculiar mental situation of the faithful Israelites that we can at all understand them. Not only are different views of death suggested by different passages, but different estimates of the religious capacities of the heathen. "Israel could not altogether disown the new spirit of friendliness, not to polytheism, but to polytheists," which the second part of Isaiah had communicated to the post-Exile Church. Let the reader work out this idea for himself in connexion with the history of the times; I should fear to try his patience were I to enter upon so fruitful a

¹ Ps. cvi. 5 (Prayer-Book).

² Ps. vi. 4, 5.

topic. Suffice it to add, that if Psalm cxvii. was chanted as a preface to Psalm cxviii., when this newly written hymn was introduced (by Simon?) into the liturgical services (it does at any rate form part of the Hallel), the harsh expressions in Psalm cxviii. become greatly softened, and Luther may not have been so far wrong in selecting this psalm for his own special Scripture.

Let us now sum up a few of the leading ideas of Psalm cxvi.

(a) St. Augustine begins his exposition of the Psalm at the wrong end; he spiritualizes too much, applies the words too directly to the joys and sorrows of the individual. "Let the soul sing this psalm," he says, "which, though at home in the body, is absent from the Lord; let the sheep sing this, which had gone astray; let the son sing this, who had been dead, and became alive again, who had been lost, and was found." But evidently the trouble from which the grateful speaker has been delivered is the danger of physical not spiritual death, and he utters his thanksgiving in the name of the Church. I hasten to add that the reason why he values life is, that he as an individual shares in the work of the Church, which is (see Ps. cxviii. 17) to "tell out the works of Jehovah" to those who as yet indeed know Him not, but who, as prophecy declares, shall one day be added to Jehovah's flock. Even where the psalmist says, "I will call (upon him) all my days" (ver. 2), he means chiefly, "I will join my prayers to those of the congregation," as is plain from the other context in which the same phrase occurs (ver. 13). The psalm is therefore a strong though unconscious protest against dwelling too much on our own individual joys and griefs. Deliverance from selfishness is most surely and perfectly attained by absorbing ourselves in the cause, not of any party or sect, but of the kingdom of God.

(b) What has the psalmist to tell us of the "name" or

revealed character of Jehovah? Three attributes are mentioned: His compassion, His righteousness (or strict adherence to His revealed principles of action), and His readiness to answer prayer. The Divine lovingkindness is not referred to expressly in this psalm (which differs in this respect from Psalm cxviii.). But the Divine "righteousness" is only the other side of "lovingkindness" (*khesed*), and the "love" of Jehovah's "loving (or, pious) ones" (*khasidim*) presupposes that of Jehovah. The fact however that the psalmist lays so much stress on Jehovah's "compassion" is significant. There are moods in which, either from conviction of sin, or from the overpowering consciousness of our own weakness and misery, it is a solace to recall the infinite pity and sympathy of our Creator. The psalmist was probably in one of these. He had said "in his panic" that "all men were liars" (ver. 11), *i.e.* that none of the powers of this world was ranged on his side. But thoughts of Him who is "the father of the orphans and the advocate of the widows" once again (cf. Pss. lxxviii. 5, cxlvi. 9) more than reconciled Israel to his loneliness. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

But what can Israel say to the seemingly conflicting evidence respecting the Divine righteousness? The Church-nation has indeed been saved from extermination, but at the cost of precious lives. The law promised a long and happy life as the reward of obedience, and yet true Israelites have had to choose between life with transgression and death with fidelity to conscience.¹ This is the difficulty which so greatly harassed the author of the 44th Psalm.² Does our psalmist throw any light upon it? Incidentally he does, by the declaration that it is no light matter³ with God to permit the lives of His faithful ones to be cut short

¹ 2 Macc. vii. 2.

² Ps. xliv. 17-19.

³ "It is an expense that God delights not in," is Jeremy Taylor's comment on the word "precious" in the A.V. of our psalm.

(ver. 15). If the promises of the law have been so strikingly unfulfilled, it is because the Church is now fully prepared for the higher revelation which is on its way. There is a plan in the dealings of Jehovah both with the Church and with individuals, and His righteousness is not less closely linked with His wisdom than with His lovingkindness.

The third attribute specially referred to in Psalm cxvi. is Jehovah's readiness to answer prayer. And whose prayer is permitted to reach His ear? A more complete answer could be given from other psalms; the special contribution of the writer of Psalm cxvi. is, that those whom Jehovah preserves are "the simple," *i.e.* those who feel that they "lack wisdom," and that, as Jeremiah says in one of his prayers, "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps."¹ Simplicity, in this sense of the word, was specially called for at the terrible crisis through which the Church was now passing. No other principle but the simplest faith could possibly have inspired either the prompt resolutions or the fearless courage of the glorious six years of Judas the Maccabee. But would it be true to say that Jehovah only "preserveth the simple"? Does He not also answer the prayers of those who feel that they have already received the earnest of God's promised gift of wisdom, and that they cannot be any longer "children," but must "grow up unto him in all things, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ"?² Next to and because of Jehovah, the psalmist, who humbly ranks himself among the "simple," doubtless loves the book of revelation. But is it not the special property of this volume that, rightly used, it can "give wisdom and understanding unto the simple"?³ And would not St. Paul reproach us, as he reproached the Corinthian Church of old,⁴ for our slowness in obeying the call of Providence, when some too dearly

¹ Jer. x. 23.

² Eph. iv. 13, 15.

³ Pss. xix. 7, cxix. 130.

⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 1.

loved relic of "simplicity" has to be exchanged for a comparatively clear intuition of the truth? Gladly as we listen to those who, like St. Augustine and Christopher Wordsworth, bid us learn from these Christians before Christ how to die for the truth, we decline to accept in all points the definition of Christian truth current in any one age; for that would mean, not strength, but weakness of faith relatively to that Spirit of wisdom who, as Christ promised, is guiding disciples into all the truth. The word "faith" ought not to become a symbol for intellectual narrowness, and blindness to the leadings of Him who, not without storms and revolutions, "reneweth the face of the earth."

Psalms cxvi. and cxviii. are the most striking psalms of the Hallel. But other members of the group deserve to be studied more in connexion with the Maccabæan period. When was the description in Psalm cxiii. 7, 8 more exactly verified than in the elevation of the previously little known Asmonæan family to the rank of "princes of God's people"? Even if the psalm were written somewhat earlier, yet its words received their fullest historical justification in that surprising event. And does not the three-fold division of the faithful in Psalm cxv. 9-13, and the emphasis laid there on the one sufficient helper, Jehovah, justify the irrepressible conjecture that this psalm, like the 118th, is Maccabæan? Why should Christian ministers hesitate to answer in the affirmative? Truly, if they can honestly do so, they will find it become all the easier to use these psalms for purposes of edification? If the story of the Maccabees is as important even now as Christopher Wordsworth assures us that it is, would it not be a great help to students if they could illustrate it from the most certain of the Maccabæan psalms? When will some English scholar, with the gift of interesting the people, seize the noble opportunity of usefulness presented to him? The

Jews at any rate have long since set us a good example by appointing Psalms cxiii.-cxviii. to be recited on each of the eight days of the two great historical feasts of the second temple, the Tabernacles and the Dedication.¹ Is it reverent in us who are under such deep obligations to the Jewish Church to set at naught this example? Surely the lesson of faith in God was never more urgently needed, both in Church and in State, both in thought and in practice than to-day. And from whom can this lesson be learned better than from those psalmists whose works can be shown to possess definite historical references? For these poets express not merely the mood of the individual, but the stirrings of the mighty heart of the Church of God.

T. K. CHEYNE.

¹ The Maccabæan festival of the Encænïa (John x. 22) was, in fact, a kind of supplementary Feast of Tabernacles. "See that ye keep the days of the feast of tabernacles (*τῆς σκηνοπηγίας*) of the month Chasleu" (2 Macc. i. 9).

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

III. THE GIFT OF ETERNAL LIFE.

IN this paper I shall continue and complete my exposition of the teaching of St. Paul touching the fate of those who die unsaved.

The present participle, ἀπολλύμενοι, found also in 2 Thessalonians ii. 10, 2 Corinthians iv. 3, is in 1 Corinthians i. 18, 2 Corinthians ii. 15 placed in contrast to another similar participle, σωζόμενοι. These participles, frequently used of the saved and the lost, represent salvation and destruction as processes now going on. They who are in "the way leading to life"¹ experience day by day the operation of a power which keeps them safe from peril and is bringing them to the safety of heaven; whereas they who tread "the way leading to destruction" are day by day undergoing a process which will end in ruin. With equal appropriateness, the one are in Ephesians ii. 5 said to be already "saved," and of them St. Paul says in Romans v. 9, 10 that they "will be saved," and the others are spoken of in Luke xix. 10 as already "lost," and in 2 Thessalonians i. 9 as men who at the coming of Christ will "pay the penalty of eternal destruction."

Another word almost or quite equivalent to *destruction* is used by St. Paul to describe the future punishment of sin; and is usually rendered *corruption*. It seems to denote *damage* of any kind, especially, though perhaps not always, such damage as involves ruin. The cognate verb we have already, on page 26, found in a quotation from Plato, as an equivalent for *destruction*, to describe a dissipation or disso-

¹ Matt. vii. 13, 14.

lution of the soul. In 2 Corinthians vii. 2, St. Paul says for himself and his companions, "We have *corrupted* no one." But he expresses in chapter xi. 3 a fear lest his readers' thoughts be *corrupted* from the simplicity which has Christ in view. In 1 Corinthians xv. 33 we have a quotation from a Greek poet asserting that "bad company *corrupteth* good manners." The present participle occurs in Ephesians iv. 22, where "the old man" is said to be *undergoing-corruption*. So 1 Timothy vi. 5, 2 Timothy iii. 8: "men *corrupted* in mind." In these two last, all thought of annihilation is absent. St. Paul cannot mean to suggest that sin tends to extinguish the intelligence. The cognate substantive is used in Colossians ii. 22 to describe the destruction of food by eating. In 1 Corinthians xv. 42, the body laid dead in the grave is said to be "sown in *corruption*:" but the Apostle assures us in verse 53 that "*corruption* will put on *incorruption*." The [decay of the natural objects around us, and the limits thus imposed on their development, are described in Romans viii. 21 as "the bondage of *corruption*." In 1 Corinthians ix. 25 the "*corruptible* crown" is a withering garland of leaves. And such withering by no means involves annihilation. As a warning to some whose wrangling threatened to injure the Church, St. Paul asserts solemnly in 1 Corinthians iii. 17 that "if any one *damageth* the temple of God, him God *will damage*." So in Galatians vi. 8, he declares that "he who soweth for his own flesh shall from the flesh reap *corruption*."

The close similarity of the words we have rendered *destruction* and *corruption* prevents our adding much from the latter word to the information already in our first paper derived from the former touching St. Paul's conception of the punishment awaiting sinners. But the use of this exact synonym is additional proof that the fate of the lost presented itself to the great Apostle chiefly in the aspect of utter ruin, of the destruction of all that gives worth to

humanity. And some of the passages quoted above prove that this second conspicuous word used by St. Paul to describe the punishment of sin does not in itself imply annihilation.

Another remarkable feature of the teaching of St. Paul, of St. John, and of our Lord as recorded in each of the four Gospels, now demands our most careful attention ; *viz.* the word *life*, and especially the term *eternal life*, used to describe the state of the saved as distinguished from the unsaved. Sometimes believers are said to have been already made alive in Christ, and to have life as a present possession : at other times life is spoken of as a hope for the future.

In Ephesians ii. 5 we read that "God hath *made-alive* with Christ us who were dead." So John iii. 36, "He that believeth on the Son hath *eternal life*." And chapter v. 24 : "He that believeth . . . hath *eternal life*, and . . . is passed out of death into *life*." Similarly chapter vi. 47, 54. And 1 John v. 12 : "He that hath the Son hath the *life*."

More frequently the word *life* refers to the future. So Romans ii. 7 : "To those who by way of perseverance in good work seek glory and honour and incorruption" God will give "*eternal life*." In chapter v. 17 we read, that "they who receive the gift of righteousness will reign in *life*." To those who have been liberated from the bondage of sin "the end" will be "*eternal life*," which is "the 'gift of God :'" chapter vi. 22, 23. They who "put to death the actions of the body *will live* : " chapter viii. 13. And they who "sow for the Spirit will from the Spirit reap *eternal life* : " Galatians vi. 8. Hence in Philippians ii. 16 the Gospel is called "the word of *life* ; " and in chapter iv. 3 we read of the "book of *life*." In 1 Timothy vi. 12, 19, men are bidden to "lay hold of *eternal life*," and of "that which is really *life*." In 2 Timothy i. 1 we have a

promise of *life* in Christ Jesus," who (verse 10) "has brought to light *life* and incorruption through the Gospel." Similarly in Titus i. 2, iii. 7, we have "hope of eternal *life*."

In the Fourth Gospel and in the First Epistle of John the same terms, *life* and *eternal life*, in the same sense as in the above quotations from St. Paul, are very common. Nor are they uncommon in the Synoptist Gospels. Matthew vii. 14 has already been quoted. In chapter xviii. 8, 9, our Lord contrasts "entrance into *life*" with being "cast into the eternal fire." In chapter xix. 16, 17 one asks what he shall do in order that he "may have *eternal life*;" and the Teacher replies, "If thou wishest to enter into *life*, keep the commandments." And in verse 29 He speaks of some who "will inherit *eternal life*." We read in chapter xxv. 46, that in the great day some will "go away into *eternal life*." Similar teaching is attributed to Christ in the Second and Third Gospels. Compare Daniel xii. 2: "Some will awake to eternal life."

That this remarkable phraseology is found in documents so widely different in phrase and thought as the Epistles of Paul, the Fourth Gospel, and the Synoptist Gospels is complete historical proof, even apart from the authority of Holy Scripture, that the words we are considering were actually used by Christ to describe the reward of righteousness. Moreover, this use of the word *life* to describe the state of the righteous as contrasted with that of the wicked, implies that *life*, in the sense given to this word by our Lord and by St. Paul, is not the inalienable possession of all men, good and bad. And this is confirmed by the fact that, although the word *life* is used to describe present bodily life on earth, it is never once used throughout the New Testament to describe the future state of the lost. Beyond the grave there is no life except for those who are in life-giving union with Christ. On the last day they who

have done evil¹ will go forth from their graves, but they will have no share in the "resurrection of *life*."

In Matthew vii. 13, 14, "the way leading to *life*" is contrasted with that "leading to destruction." Similarly, in John iii. 16, we have the contrast, "may not *be destroyed*, but may have *eternal life*." Another contrast is given in verse 36: "He that disbelieveth the Son shall not see *life*; but the *anger* of God abideth upon him."

Another contrast to *life* is *death*, spoken of sometimes as present, at other times as future. So in Ephesians ii. 1, Colossians ii. 13, men still living are spoken of as "*dead through trespasses*." A dissolute woman is said in 1 Tim. v. 6 to be, even while *living*, *dead*. So in 1 John iii. 14: "We have passed out of *death* into *life*. . . . He that loveth not abideth in *death*." On the other hand, we read in Romans vi. 21, 23, "The end of those things is *death*," and "the wages of sin is *death*." And chapter viii. 13, "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall *die*." All this we understand. Inasmuch as they are beyond human help, as a dead man is, the unsaved may be spoken of as already *dead*. But inasmuch as only the future will reveal the awful destruction awaiting them, they may be described as on the way to death.

We now ask, What light does this phraseology cast upon the future punishment of sin? What is involved in the life already possessed by, and in fuller measure awaiting, the children of God; and in that death which is the wages and end of the service of sin?

Evidently the death which is the punishment of sin is, in its full development, much more than the death of the body. For this is the common lot of all men, good and bad. Nevertheless, since the word *death* was originally and is most frequently used to describe the end of bodily life, from this common use must be derived its meaning when it

¹ John v. 29.

describes the present or future state of the unsaved. What then is our chief idea of the death of the body? Not annihilation. For a body which has ceased to breathe is just as dead if preserved by the embalmer's art as if reduced to dust. And the Greeks spoke of slain men as *dead*, even though some writers, *e.g.* Homer, believed that in another state of existence the departed are still conscious; without any thought even of the ultimate cessation of consciousness.

What then is the idea conveyed by natural death? I think that it is the cessation of the normal existence of a certain conspicuous class of objects, and their consequent utter ruin. This class of objects is distinguished by well-known characteristics which go to make up our idea of *life*. A corpse is *dead* because the normal existence of a living body has ceased. It is true that sickness also is abnormal. But health passes into sickness by imperceptible gradations; whereas bodily death is marked off from life by a broad and unmistakable line. To pass that line is to the body absolute ruin. And this ruin is natural death.

Already we have seen that in the New Testament the word *destruction* denotes utter and hopeless ruin, whether the object destroyed be annihilated or maintains a worthless existence. We saw also that the same word was a common synonym for natural death, even with men who believed that the dead were still existing and conscious. It is now clear that the death which is the punishment of sin is a synonym of the word *destruction*, which already in my first paper we have found used in the same sense. It is utter and hopeless ruin of body and spirit. As such, it may be spoken of as present. For sinners are in a state of ruin, from which they can be saved only by the hand of Him who raises the dead. Or it may be spoken of as future. For present ruin will then receive its tremendous consummation.

Perhaps I may add that, just as the corruption of a dead body sinks infinitely below the worst corruption of disease,

so we are compelled to believe that the consummation of punishment will go far beyond the worst moral corruption on earth.

It is also worthy of note that, just as bodily death is separation of the body from the unseen and inward principle which was once its life, so spiritual death is separation of man from Him who is to all intelligent creatures the Spirit of life.

Having thus in some measure and with some confidence determined the meaning of the word *death* when describing the punishment of sin, we shall now be able to determine the meaning of the word *life* when describing the reward of righteousness. Since death does not imply annihilation, there may be existence and consciousness without life. Of this we have a good example in the slain heroes whom Ulysses, as we read in the *Odyssey*, met and conversed with in the realm of the dead. These had consciousness and intelligence, but not life. Life therefore is more than existence and consciousness.

Now St. Paul tells us in Romans vi. 23 and elsewhere, that *eternal life* is the gift of God in Christ to those who believe. But this by no means implies that all others will sink into unconsciousness at death, or at judgment, or ultimately. For there is a life higher than that of the body. And this higher life is the hope of the children of God. It includes not only conscious existence, but blessedness. Consequently the loss of blessedness is the loss of this higher life. And that this higher life belongs only to the saved is no proof or presumption that all others will sink into unconsciousness. For the loss of life is simply the loss of all that which gives to existence its real worth.

Great confusion has been poured on the subject before us by the common use in popular religious language of the word *immortality* to describe continued conscious existence of the soul after death. This popular use of the word is

utterly alien to the phraseology and thought of the Bible. The confusion caused by it warns us not to use the words of the Bible in a sense never found there. Whether or not the soul of man possesses an essential permanence and consciousness which neither death nor the lapse of long ages will destroy is a fair matter for research. But such permanent consciousness ought never to be confounded with the immortality which Christ brought to light through the Gospel, and which He gives to those who receive Him as their Saviour and Lord. The popular phraseology is not Christian, but Jewish or pagan. Something like it is found in Josephus, *Antiquities*, book xviii. 1. 3; still more in the *Phædo* of Plato; and the very words, "immortality of souls," in book i. 31 of the Tusculan disputations of Cicero. To avoid confusion and error, it should be banished from theology and the pulpit.

It has often been asked whether Adam was created mortal or immortal. I venture to say that he was neither the one nor the other. When God breathed into him the breath of life, he became a *living* soul. And that primal life was blessed. His continuance in life was made contingent on his obedience. By disobedience he fell under the dominion of death. But they who receive the gift of righteousness will reign in life through Jesus Christ. That life will be a full development of the life in which Adam was created.

¶ The frequent use of the word *eternal*¹ to describe the *life* awaiting the servants of Christ sheds some light upon its significance when describing the *destruction* awaiting the wicked. We have seen that in 2 Corinthians iv. 18 it denotes a very long period of time in contrast to a short period: "for the things seen are temporal; but the things not seen, eternal." Now, apart from the meaning of this word, unquestionably the life of the righteous will be absolutely endless. For it will be an outflow of the life and the

¹ See p. 34.

love of Christ. To conceive a limit to the blessedness of those whom God predestined from eternity to be conformed to the image of His Son, is to set bounds to that infinite love; and this is impossible. "He shall reign over the house of Israel to the ages: and of His kingdom there shall be no end" (Luke i. 33). We notice now that the adjective *eternal* is selected by St. Paul and by every writer in the New Testament except St. James to describe this endless life. And we notice with awe, that this word, with these associations, is selected by St. Paul and others to describe also the destruction of "those who know not God and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus; who will pay penalty, even *eternal destruction*." This seems to me complete proof, in addition to the proof already found in the words "whose end is destruction," that ultimate restoration of those condemned at the great day lay altogether beyond the hope or thought of the great Apostle.

One more point in the teaching of St. Paul demands attention. In Romans ii. 5 he says to a man of impenitent heart, "Thou art treasuring for thyself anger in a day of anger and of revelation of God's righteous judgment." This implies that day by day the impenitent man is increasing the punishment awaiting him at the great day. The same is implied in 2 Corinthians v. 10: "That each may receive the things done in his body, . . . whether good or bad." For if recompense is according to action, it will vary with the infinite variety of guilt. This variety implies consciousness continuing beyond the great assize. For if the punishment then inflicted were unconsciousness, it would be alike to all. Consequently the fate of the lost cannot be immediate annihilation.

The Epistle to the Hebrews does not add very much to the teaching of the Epistles which bear the name of Paul. In Hebrews vi. 2, among the first principles of Christ we find *eternal judgment*. This is evidently condemnation

to the eternal destruction spoken of by St. Paul. In verse 8 we have land "bringing forth thorns and thistles, whose *end*¹ is to be burnt." Similarly in chapter x. 27 we read of "a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which will devour the adversaries." These two passages introduce an important element of teaching which will come before us more clearly in the Gospels, and which I hope to discuss in my next paper. In verse 29 we are warned against a "worse punishment" of which "they will be counted worthy who have trampled under foot the Son of God."

Such are the results of our research into the teaching of St. Paul touching the future punishment of sin. His chief thought about it was conveyed by three synonymous terms, each commonly used to denote the end of human life on earth. Of these terms, two are used also to describe injury of any kind so serious as to render worthless the injured object. And we saw that bodily death was, by many Greeks, conceived to be, not extinction of consciousness, but loss of all that makes life worth living.

In one passage this destruction is said to be the end of those destroyed. In another it is said to be eternal. This last word we found to denote duration either lifelong or reaching beyond the limits of the speaker's thought. We noticed also that the same adjective is used to describe the endless life awaiting the people of God. All this compelled us to believe that St. Paul looked upon the condemnation to be pronounced on the great day as ruin, complete, hopeless, and final.

We found several important passages in which the Apostle speaks of the Divine purpose of salvation as embracing all men. But we found nothing suggesting the actual ultimate salvation of all men, nothing to set against the proofs just given that he expected some men to be finally lost.

Compare Phil. iii. 19, 2 Cor. xi. 15.

Beyond the assertion of their utter ruin, we have little information from the pen of the Apostle touching the state of the ruined ones. We have nothing asserting or suggesting that they will be, even ultimately, annihilated, or that their consciousness will ever cease. For the words used to describe their fate are frequently used of objects which, although destroyed, indisputably continue to exist, and some to think and speak. And, although life beyond the grave is the gift of Christ to those who receive Him, we saw that, since the life which He gives is much more than existence or consciousness, the loss of that life by no means implies loss of conscious existence. On the other hand, the words *destruction* and *corruption* and *death* by no means imply the continued existence of that which is destroyed. As to what becomes of it, they leave us in complete ignorance.

The only information about the state of the lost given by St. Paul is, that their punishment will vary with their guilt. And this implies that the destruction inflicted at the great day will not be immediate annihilation. It must therefore involve conscious suffering.

In this comparative reticence of the great Apostle there is profound solemnity. Before his reluctant eye looms a vision of ruin. In that dark vision he cannot find a single ray of light. He therefore cares not further to analyse it; but turns away to greet the life eternal, the gift of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.¹

In our next paper we shall consider a type of teaching very different from that of St. Paul, and preserved for us in the Fourth Gospel.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

¹ Rom. vi. 21-23.

RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. DÖLLINGER.

1870. THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

IN a paper in the *Guardian* of January 22nd, 1890, very delightful to those who have had the happiness of knowing Dr. Döllinger, and very instructive to those who have not, H. P. L. expresses a hope that "our own brilliant countryman Lord Acton" will write the life of the great man who went to his well earned rest on January 10th. Many will echo that hope. No one, either in Germany or elsewhere, is so competent to write it. "But," H. P. L. goes on to say, Dr. Döllinger "has had many friends of a less conspicuous order, even in England; and some of these may be encouraged to place their recollections of him upon record by remembering that every such contribution, however fragmentary, does something to promote that full appreciation of what he was, which all must desire who have had the happiness of knowing him." And he mentions the present writer as among such friends. Similar suggestions have been made in private; and now, not unwillingly, but also not without some misgivings, an attempt is here made to respond to them. It is a very real pleasure, if a sad one, to recall something of the very many hours spent in Dr. Döllinger's most captivating society, and to endeavour to convey to others something of the impression made upon oneself by the power of his intellect, the vastness of his knowledge, and the beauty of his character. But, on the other hand, there is the risk of doing, not only scant justice, but serious injustice, to a subject which needs a master hand. Yet, if deep reverence and affection, based upon a friendship of nearly twenty years, will serve as qualifications for the task of trying to sketch some features of his life and conversation, one may make the venture; trusting that those who may be pained

by the manifold shortcomings of an attempt which to their more adequate knowledge of the great theologian must seem grievously inadequate, will pardon it for the sake of those who as yet have no knowledge of him at all.

It was on July 4th, 1870, that I first conversed with Dr. Döllinger; it was on July 28th, 1889, that I last did so. Between those two dates he has at different times allowed me to see a very great deal of him, generally at Munich, but sometimes at Tegernsee and at Bonn. I heard his last lectures on Church history in 1870, and the very last lectures of all in 1872. Sometimes we walked together almost daily, and for two or three hours at a time. I had the free use of his library; could go in and out as I pleased; read there, or carry away the books, just as might be convenient. He also gave me the use of his name at the Royal Library, so that I could do the same there. And when I was back in England he sometimes found time to write a letter. Of all this immense kindness very grateful and very vivid recollections survive. But, what is more to the purpose for these reminiscences, many notes taken at his lectures and immediately after conversations with him survive also. So that what is here offered is no mere recollection, which after fifteen or twenty years would almost certainly be at times inaccurate, but a compilation from memoranda which were generally written within a few hours of the interview, and sometimes after what is recorded had been said more than once.

One or two remarks on the bestower of all this bounty will be in place, before trying to recall some of his words. Only those who have frequently talked with him can have any adequate idea of the *immense* stores of knowledge which he had entirely at his command. His books show a very great deal, especially those marvellously compact, lucid, and highly finished essays, published a year or two ago as specimens of his *akademische Vorträge*. The range

of reading which they imply is really prodigious. But they were written in his study, with the opportunity of constantly referring to books. His conversation would lead one to think that the books, long ago studied, would not often be used. On numbers of subjects, and especially those which are historical, he seemed to be always able to talk as if he had just come from a careful study of them. The details, as well as general results, were all there. And it may be doubted whether there ever was a man who in a greater degree combined such amazing powers with such beautiful simplicity. He had received almost every honour that the State or the university could bestow upon him; he was the friend of princes and the confidant of statesmen; he was possessed of information which would have made a score of men intellectually rich: and throughout it all he had the simplicity of a child. Nothing could be more exquisitely natural than the way in which he spoke of the great men with whom he was intimate, or in which he imparted to others some of his boundless stores of knowledge. Anything like ostentation was absolutely foreign to his character.

It was with a letter of introduction from Dr. Pusey that I called on him in 1870, at 11, Frühlings Strasse, to ask leave to attend his lectures. I went somewhat in awe; for the eyes of all Europe were then upon him, especially since his signed article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* the previous March, in which he pointed out that the Vatican Council, in submitting to be fettered by a pre-arranged order, was imperilling its validity; and that a council cannot create new dogmas, but only bear witness to those which have been universally accepted by the Church. But he at once placed me at my ease. I might certainly come to his lectures, if the early hour of 7 a.m. would not frighten me. He was lecturing on the history of doctrine in the third and fourth centuries. He had written on the subject

twenty or thirty years ago, but *further study had induced him to change a good many of his views*. We soon got on the subject of the Council and the famous letters in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, to which it is generally believed he often supplied the finishing touches. He thought that we should hear something definite very soon, for about eighty speakers who had put down their names had since then renounced their right to address the Council. And he quite expected that the dogma of the Infallibility would be proclaimed. When asked whether it was not possible that the Council might take refuge in an ambiguous formula, which each side could interpret in its own way, he replied that he did not believe that such a formula was possible, for there was no middle ground on which the two parties could both stand. The whole question was the *absolute and personal* infallibility of the Pope: nothing less would satisfy the majority at the Council, and this the minority could not accept.

“And if the dogma is defined, what will happen?”

“What the bishops of the minority will do, it is impossible to say. Probably the question will be raised as to whether this Council has authority, whether it fulfils the indispensable conditions, whether the discussion and the voting have been free, and so forth; and this question I believe that many will answer in the negative. It will be a terrible thing for the Church, at any rate for a time. But it may be God’s will to bring good out of it, and I believe that such will be the case. There are many at the present time who are nominally in the Church, and yet are scarcely believers at all; and it will be a good thing if an *Ausscheidung*, (you understand that word?) if a distinction comes to be made. This, I think, must take place before we can look for the union of Christendom to which perhaps we are tending: and this the definition of the dogma may bring about. But meanwhile it will cause grievous trouble.”

"It seems strange that any human being should believe in his *own* infallibility: and one must suppose that the Pope does so."

"Yes, he does: but that is not so wonderful in a man of the Pope's temperament. He believes himself to be inspired.¹ I have this from persons who know him far better than I do. For instance, in appointing men, not merely to ecclesiastical posts, but to offices in his temporal government, he waits until he gets what he thinks is an inspiration, and then he makes the nomination. Now a man who is of that turn of mind——" And Dr. Döllinger raised his shoulders.

"The Pope is not, I believe, a learned man."

"Quite the contrary," replied Dr. Döllinger, "quite the contrary. He was ordained priest only as a special favour, his ignorance of the ordinary theological subjects being so great. He is the younger brother of a house of rank, and an exception was made."

Dr. Newman's famous letter, in which he spoke of the "aggressive, insolent faction" in the Roman Church, which was driving all things to extremes, especially in forcing on the definition of the dogma, was mentioned. It was commonly believed that this letter, written to Bishop Ullathorne, of Birmingham, was shown by him to Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, who was one of the anti-infallibilist minority at the Council; and that Bishop Clifford sent it to England, where it appeared in the newspapers. Dr. Döllinger did not seem to think that Dr. Newman had been very badly treated, or to condemn those who had caused the publication of the letter.

"The letter was no doubt a private one," he remarked; "but the respect in which Dr. Newman is held, both by

¹ He said, "As to the Infallibility, as a simple clergyman, I always believed it; now as Pope, I feel it." (*Per l'infalibilità, essendo l'Abbate Mastai l'ho sempre creduto; adesso, essendo Papa Mastai, la sento.*)

Catholics and by members of the English Church, is such, that it was scarcely possible for him to remain silent. I felt this in my own case. I felt that, holding the views which I do hold on this subject, it was my duty to make them known; and I think that hereafter Dr. Newman will be glad that his opinion has become known, although at present the circumstances may be very painful to him."

The letter in question contained the following:

"I cannot help suffering with the many souls who are suffering; and I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my own private judgment, but may be most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts. What have we done to be treated as the faithful never were treated before? When has a definition *de fide* been a luxury of devotion and not a stern, painful necessity? Why should an aggressive, insolent faction be allowed 'to make the heart of the just sad, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful'? . . . With these thoughts ever before me, *I am continually asking myself whether I ought not to make my feelings public*; but all I do is to pray those early doctors of the Church whose intercession would decide the matter—Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Basil—to avert the great calamity."

Dr. Döllinger used to lecture in Hörsaal No. 12, in the university. In spite of the action of Senestrey, the fanatical Bishop of Regensburg, who not long before had forbidden his theological students to attend the suspected Professor's lectures, theological students did attend. Evidently other bishops had not followed his example, and possibly he was not entirely obeyed. The lecturer stated his facts with the utmost clearness and decision; yet it was the decision of a man who, although he had quite made up his own mind, had no wish to make up yours. "Judge for yourselves" was the attitude throughout. His audience used to rise as he entered the room and as he left it; and he bowed to them before leaving his desk.

In treating of the Nestorian controversy, one could not help feeling that his remarks were sometimes made with a side reference to current events. Thus he said that we

gathered a different account of the position of Nestorius from his own statements, than we should have done, if we had had only Cyril as an authority. Both sides in the controversy, as so often happens, attributed to their opponents conclusions drawn from the statements of their opponents, which however would not have been admitted by the opponents themselves. This was very much the way in which Döllinger's own statements were being treated. Again, he said that the only condition on which an œcumenical council could meet to settle the question was, that the emperor should summon one, and should decide *when* it was to meet. Which perhaps meant that the Pope, by summoning the Council and fixing the date for it, had acted in a way which prejudiced the freedom of the Council. *His* date might be one which would prevent highly representative bishops from being present, or from remaining till the close. When Dr. Döllinger went on to remark that at the time of the gathering of the Council of Ephesus (Pentecost), the heat was so great that many of the bishops were unwilling to remain on account of their health, there was something very like a titter throughout the lecture room. It had been well understood that it was the device of the ultramontanes at that very moment, to prolong the Council through the summer months, when Rome would be intolerable to all but Italians and Spaniards, who are almost all of them infallibilists.

It was probably something more than a coincidence, that on the very day on which he made that remark (July 8th), the Roman letter in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* began thus :

"In the Middle Ages ecclesiastical controversies were decided by the ordeal of the cross. Representatives of the two parties placed themselves with their arms outstretched in front of a large cross. Whoever first let his arms drop or (as sometimes happened) fainted away, lost his cause. The heat, and the fever caused by it, have at the present time taken the place of this ordeal at Rome. . . . How clearly the inestimable value of this new ally, Heat and Fever, is

recognised by the authorities, is shown by the papal pet journalist Veuillot, in his laconic but significant words, '*Et si la définition ne peut mûrir qu'au soleil, eh bien, on grillera*' (in his 125th 'Letter on the Council')."

The previous Roman letter in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* had stated that Rome was like an episcopal hospital, so great was the number of prelates who were laid up or seriously unwell. When it was reported to the Pope that the lives of some of the bishops were in danger, and that the Council ought to be prorogued, he is reported to have said, "*Crepino,*" "Let them rot like sheep." This brutal reply made a great stir in Rome, for the report was believed.

On Friday, July 15th, came news that war had been declared between France and Prussia, and Dr. Döllinger's audience began to thin. Then came the proclamation of the Infallibility dogma, July 18th. Two days later, Dr. Döllinger reached the Honorius question. One knew beforehand what he thought about it; but it was very interesting to have it from his own lips, and precisely at that crisis. July 28th he brought his lectures to a close; and after he had signed the certificates of the other students we walked back to his house together. He told me that the Archbishop of Munich (Scherr), who had just returned from Rome, was one of the hundred and fifteen who retired before the Infallibility was proclaimed, leaving their *non placet* in writing. When he started for Rome, Dr. Döllinger saw him off, and the archbishop's farewell words were, "I do not expect that the Infallibility dogma will be proposed: but, if it is, you may rely upon my opposing it." "These bishops who have opposed the dogma," remarked Dr. Döllinger, "now find themselves in a novel and very uncomfortable position: they are so accustomed in all things to submit entirely to Rome. And the French bishops are worse off than the German, for they have the inferior clergy and the mass of the religious people against

them. I think that a schism of the oriental bishops, which is talked of, is not improbable. But at the Council of Trent the decrees were not supposed to come into operation until the Council had formally broken up, so that these anti-infallibilist bishops may still have some respite in which to consider their position. The Vatican Council is still nominally sitting. Italian bishops, with a few from Spain and South America, remain in Rome and keep up the name of a council. It is to assemble again in reality in November. Until it finally breaks up, its decrees *may* be regarded as not yet in force; and meanwhile the war is withdrawing attention and causing a diversion. But precedents have been so entirely set at naught throughout the Council, that it is quite possible this decree may be enforced at once. The archbishop himself is very undecided as to his future action, and I fear that the separation of the bishops who have opposed the dogma will have a very weakening effect. They may possibly succumb, one by one, before they meet again in November."

At 2 p.m. that day I dined with him, to meet Canon Liddon and Sir Roland Blennerhasset, the latter of whom had just come from Rome. Our host was most entertaining, as he commonly was at these simple but most delightful hospitalities. He corrected one of us for saying that the Council had broken up. "No; there are a certain number of bishops remaining who are nominally the Council, just to enable the Curia to say that the Council is still sitting. That is quite an old trick. At that 'miserable synod,'¹ the Fifth Lateran, a handful of Italian bishops were kept together, just for the name of the thing, for years. They did nothing, literally nothing. There are two or three years in which not a single act of the Council

¹ Dr. Döllinger was probably quoting Jerome, who calls the Council of Diospolis, which acquitted Pelagius, a *miserabilis synodus*. This he had told us in his final lecture that same morning.

is recorded. But Pope Leo X. wished to be able to say that the Council was still sitting. At the Council of Florence, again, some bishops, chiefly Italian, were kept together, merely as a set off against the reforming Council of Basel, long after the Greeks had gone away."

Dr. Döllinger then gave us some of his own experiences in Rome. He had been there in 1857, but neither before nor since. It has sometimes been stated that he was there during the Vatican Council; and this error seems still to prevail in some quarters (see the obituary notice in the *Stuttgard Neues Tagblatt*, Jan. 12th, 1890). In 1857 he was greatly struck by the apathy and indifference of the ecclesiastics; they seemed to take no interest whatever in ecclesiastical affairs. "Everywhere else where I travelled I was asked questions. But not there; not a single word. No one in Rome seemed to care at all how Church matters stood in Germany, what the condition of religion was among us, or anything of the kind. And in 1857 I was not a suspected man; no one distrusted me then. Therefore that was not the explanation. Now I should not be surprised if I was not questioned on ecclesiastical affairs; but it was otherwise then. I was presented to a cardinal as a German theologian of some repute,—or something of that kind,—who had written a good deal. '*Bravo, signor!*' was all he had to say to me, a bow, and then the interview ended. Not a word more. A friend asked me if I should care to be introduced to any one in particular. He would ask some people to meet me. What sort of men would I like? I replied that, as theology was my study, I should be glad to meet one or two theologians. He was rather taken aback at my request, said that they were not so easy to find, but he would try. Well, they came. I raised one theological subject after another, but there was no getting them to talk. Nothing seemed to interest them. I speak Italian, so that it cannot have been

the language that was the obstacle. If I asked a question, it was '*Si, signor*,' or '*No, signor*'; and then the matter dropped. At last, in despair, I gave up theology and began to talk of the weather. Then they began to talk also."¹

The fact that Dean Stanley had admitted a Unitarian to the holy communion at the gathering of the committee for the revision of the Bible was mentioned, and it was stated that one apology which had been made for this act of the dean was, that the man was not really a Unitarian, but only an Arian, in his opinions; but perhaps that did not make much difference. Dr. Döllinger exclaimed, "Ah! they just cut the Unit off, then, and made him into an Arian"; and after this joke the subject dropped.

As to the feeling in Munich about the new dogma, he said that there were about two hundred and twenty clergy in the city, and that out of these only eight or nine were infallibilists. Hence the archbishop's position was a very strong one. He had the king with him, the government with him, most of his clergy with him, and the university with him,—including Dr. Döllinger, who was a host in himself. But, as Dr. Döllinger remarked, it was quite possible that the number of infallibilist clergy in Munich

¹ On another occasion, Dr. Döllinger told how his audience with the Pope made a very unpleasant impression on him; the adoration paid to the Pope was so offensive. He said to himself as he left the Vatican, "Of my own free will, I will *never* come here again." A cardinal had instructed him as to the proper amount of ceremonial, "and I was very careful to follow the instructions most obediently. The Pope, I think, watched me narrowly. I genuflected twice as I approached, and when I reached the Pope I knelt and kissed his shoe. He said that things in Germany would go on very well, if all were obedient to that supreme power which God had placed on the earth. I replied that I was not aware that there had been any want of obedience: but I rather think that he confused me with another Munich professor, whose book on the soul had been placed on the Index, and who had refused to submit. However, before I left he called me '*un grand' uomo*,' the meaning of which rather puzzled me; but I think he said something of my having done good service by writing in defence of the Pope: and when I reached Bologna I found a diploma conferring on me the title of *Monsignore*."

had greatly increased since the dogma had been defined. And this was one of the deplorable effects of the definition. People who are known to have held that the dogma is untrue now profess belief in it, simply because of authority, and not because their reason is in the least degree convinced. And this notorious fact is used as a lever to overthrow all positive truth in religion. "Now we see how dogmas are made," is the cry. "You believe these things, and tell us to believe them, not because you are convinced that they are true (perhaps you are even convinced of the contrary), but because some authority, which you choose to obey, tells you that it must be true. Now we see how councils are worked: assemblies packed, discussion suppressed, and the result a dogma, which every one must accept or perish." "*Si cambia la religione*" is the good-humoured scoff of the Roman populace on the subject.

Dr. Döllinger thought it most extraordinary that Archbishop Manning should be so ignorant of the state of men's minds as to declare to the Pope that thousands of people in England would join the Church of Rome, if only the dogma were defined. He supposed that Manning's experience was confined to a few ladies in high position, who thought that an oracle on earth would be a very comfortable thing; and that he drew a large conclusion from a few instances. When Manning told the Council that thousands in England longed to see the dogma proclaimed, Bishop Clifford of Clifton made the crushing rejoinder, "Yes; thousands of *Protestants*, who know that the proclamation of the dogma will be a tremendous blow to the Catholic Church." Dr. Döllinger thought that Manning was certain to have a cardinal's hat, of which a great many were vacant just then. It was noticed as remarkable that Bishop Clifford should hold the views which he did respecting the dogma; so many of his antecedents would have tended to make him an infallibilist. He was educated

in Rome, and consecrated by the Pope himself. His enemies said that he had turned against the Pope out of pique, because Manning had been put over his head as Archbishop of Westminster; but no one who knew Bishop Clifford's character would be likely to believe that. The names sent to Rome by the Westminster chapter were Errington, Clifford, and Grant. Errington had been Wiseman's coadjutor with *right of succession*; but the Pope ignored that and the chapter's nominations, and appointed Manning.

One of the party expressed a hope that some future and larger council might, without directly contradicting the decrees of this one, put things on a more tolerable footing. Dr. Dollinger said that this would be very difficult indeed to accomplish. "Care had been taken to stop every loophole. No possibility of escape had been left. *Romani Pontificis definitiones esse ex sese, NON AUTEM EX CONSENSU ECCLESIE, irreformabiles*—there was no getting out of that." It had been reported that some bishops had declared that they would never promulgate the dogma in their dioceses; but if excommunication was to be the inevitable consequence of rejecting the dogma, a refusal to promulgate would amount to a schism. On the other hand, Manning had been audaciously declaring that the dogma must over-ride history; and (as an illustration of how history could be ridden over) had been assuring people in Rome that the newspapers were utterly mistaken in saying that there were dissensions in the Council. How could journalists know anything about it? Whereas he was in the Council, and he could assure them that there were *no dissensions whatever*, the bishops were *perfectly unanimous*.

A little after 4 p.m. a visitor was announced. It was Gregorovius, the author of the well-known *History of the City of Rome*; and soon after his arrival the rest of us took our leave.

I saw Dr. Döllinger once more that summer, and had a three hours' walk with him in the English Garden. He had much more to say about the Vatican and other councils, as well as about many other subjects. But this paper has already reached its full limits, and must be brought to a close. It shall conclude with an incident which those who have walked much with him must frequently have witnessed. Little children of all classes would come, and (without at all knowing who he was) gaze up in his face or take his hand. He was always most tender with them; and that wonderful smile, with which he could express so many things, would steal over his face as he looked down on them. No doubt a silent blessing often went with it. But the smile was sometimes a sad one. Who could tell what sorrows a long life might have in store for not a few among them? And was it not strange, that among the clergy his own pupils should profess to distrust and execrate him, for holding fast to the truths which he had taught them, while these little strangers instinctively and uninvited manifested their trust and their affection?

ALFRED PLUMMER.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XVI. THE MORE EXCELLENT MINISTRY (*concluded*).

IN the foregoing train of reflection we have been, as it were, feeling our way to the sense of this remarkable phrase, and not, I trust, without gaining some light on the place it occupies in our author's system of thought. In proceeding to make some further observations upon it I begin by remarking that it may be assumed that the words *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου* serve an important purpose in the argument, do really tend to throw light on the transcendent worth of Christ's sacrifice by explaining its peculiar nature. No interpretation can be accepted which reduces the expression to a mere expletive that might be omitted without being missed. On first thoughts, indeed, it may appear as if its introduction only produced difficulty, and as if the sense would have been clearer had the sentence run, "Who offered Himself without spot to God." We wonder, in fact, that among the varieties of readings found in ancient texts and versions one does not occur containing such an omission, and that they are limited to the omission of *αἰωνίου* and the substitution for it of *ἀγίου*, yielding the mutilated idea "through a spirit," and the commonplace idea "through the Holy Spirit." But whatever difficulty the added phrase may create, so long as we remain in ignorance as to the function it performs, we may be quite sure that such a writer as the thoughtful, philosophic author of our epistle uses it with a weighty meaning, and with a meaning that forms an important contribution to the argument, and indeed crowns his doctrine as to the nature and value of Christ's sacrifice. And in absence of any other instances of its use, our best guide is to try and discover for ourselves what links of thought are still wanting, what questions regarding Christ's sacrifice remain to be answered.

Now one question at least arises naturally out of the foregoing argument, and urgently demands an answer. Why should the sacrifice of Christ possess a value out of all proportion to that of legal victims? To the blood of goats and bulls is assigned an extremely limited virtue; why should unlimited virtue be ascribed to the blood of Christ? The kernel of the reply given by the writer to this momentous question is contained in the word *spirit*. It stands in antithesis, not merely to the blood of bulls and goats, but to blood in general (the blood of Christ included). The expression "the blood of Christ" refers to His sacrifice in terms of *parallelism* with Levitical sacrifices; the expression "spirit" belongs to the category of *contrast*. It lifts the sacrifice Christ offered in Himself into a higher region, altogether different from that of blood,—the region of mind, will, conscious purpose. The sense in which it is used here may be partly illustrated by a passage in the writings of our author's contemporary Philo. Philo in one place speaks of man as having two souls: the blood, the soul of the man as a whole; the Divine spirit, the soul of his higher nature:¹ in the former part of his doctrine following the teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures, that "the life or soul of all flesh is the blood."² We may conceive our author as consciously or unconsciously re-echoing the sentiment, and saying: "Yes, the blood, according to the Scriptures, is the soul of a living animal, and in the blood of the slain victim its soul or life was presented as an offering to

¹ Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ψυχὴ διχῶς λέγεται, ἥτε ὅλη καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὃ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ψυχὴ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμὸς ὅτε κύκλος σύμπας, καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον μέρος τὸ ὃ βλέπομεν, ἔδοξε τῷ νομοθέτῃ διπλὴν εἶναι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς· αἷμα μὲν τὸ τῆς ὅλης, τοῦ δὲ ἡγεμονικωτάτου πνεῦμα θεῶν: "Since soul is spoken of in two senses, the whole soul and the ruling part of it, which to speak truly is the soul of the soul, as the eye is both the whole ball, and the principal part by which we see; it seemed to the legislator (Moses) that the essence of the soul is double: blood of the whole, and the Divine spirit of the ruling part" (*Quis Rer. Div. xi.*).

² Lev. xvii. 14.

God by the officiating priest. But in connexion with the sacrifice of Christ, we must think of the higher human soul, the Divine spirit. It was as a spirit He offered Himself, as a self-conscious, free, moral personality; and His offering was a spirit revealed through a never-to-be-forgotten act of self-surrender, not the literal blood shed on Calvary, which in itself possessed no more intrinsic value than the blood of Levitical victims."

Thus interpreted, the term "spirit" unfolds the implicit significance of "Himself," and gives us the *rationale* of all real value in sacrifice. It can have no value, we learn therefrom, unless mind, spirit be revealed in it. Death, blood, in its own place, may have theological significance, but not apart from spirit. This is the new truth which by a wide gulf separates Levitical from Christian sacrifice. It has been doubted whether the writer had any such truth in view: whether, that is, he meant to teach anything in advance of Leviticalism on the question, What determines the value of sacrifice? It has been argued that with the Levitical sacrifices before him he did not feel any need for seeking after a new principle, his idea being just that blood atoned, and that the higher efficacy of Christ's blood lay in its being the blood of *Christ*. Had the Epistle to the Hebrews been a purely practical homiletic writing, I could have imagined this to be the writer's state of mind. In such a writing it would not be necessary to raise the question of the *rationale* of value, and the expression, "the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin," could and would have been used without explanatory comment. But the author of an apologetic writing, if he really understands the Christian religion which he undertakes to defend as against those who fail to see its superiority to Levitical institutions, will have something more to say. It is not enough for him to say, "Blood atones." We understand what that means in reference to Levitical sacrifices: blood was sprinkled on

the altar and the mercy-seat, and so made places and persons ritually holy. Was Christ's blood literally sprinkled on the holy things in the "true" tabernacle? is it sprinkled literally on human consciences? If not, we are forced to ask what "blood" in New Testament dialect means, and wherein the cleansing virtue really lies. In the phrase, "through an eternal spirit," I see the evidence that the writer of our epistle felt the pressure of the question, and knew how to answer it.

It goes without saying that the idea of spirit is essentially ethical in its import. Voluntariness and beneficent intention enter into the very substance of Christ's sacrifice. Only a frigid exegesis could suggest that the voluntariness of that sacrifice lies outside Christ's priestly action. It is in virtue of its moral contents that Christ is the ideal Priest, and that His sacrifice is the ideal sacrifice. But for the holy, beneficent will revealed therein, Christ's offering of Himself, instead of being a sacrifice "of nobler name" than those offered by Levitical priests, would be a reversion to the lowest type exhibited in human sacrifices. It passes at a bound from the lowest to the highest type by the introduction of the moral elements of free will and holy, gracious purpose. Sacrifice and priesthood are perfected when priest and victim are one, and when the sacrifice is the revelation of spirit. This is the doctrine of our epistle taught in this famous text, for which we are indebted to the writer's clear, spiritual insight; for it came to him thence, not from reflection either on the Melchisedec or on the Aaronic type of priesthood. These he used as the vehicle of his thoughts for apologetic purposes, but they were not the fountain of his own inspiration.

Another remark still may be added. In the light of the foregoing discussion we can see the vital significance of the *death* of Christ in connexion with His priestly work. The tendency of recent commentators, following in the wake of

Bähr, has been to throw the death into the shade, and make the stress lie on the subsequent transaction, the entrance of Christ into heaven "through His own blood." In connexion with this view much is made of the fact that in the case of most sacrifices under the Levitical system the victim was not slain by the priest, but apparently by the offerer,¹ the chief exception being the sacrifices offered on the day of annual atonement. Such was the fact, so far as we know; but in connexion with the highest ideal sacrifice the case is otherwise. The least priestly act of the Levitical system becomes here the most important, the humble, non-sacerdotal first step the essence of the whole matter. Through the death of the Victim His spirit finds its culminating expression, and it is that spirit which constitutes the acceptableness of His sacrifice in the sight of God; as Paul also understood when he said, "Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour."² The death of Christ is indeed the cardinal fact, whatever theory we adopt as to the nature of the atone-

¹ Philo in the *Life of Moses* speaks of the victims as slain by the priests. The Septuagint leaves the point vague, using the expression "they shall slay" (*σφάξουσι*), vide Lev. i. 5, iv. 29. Assuming that the victims, in cases of private or individual sacrifices, were slain by the offerers, we get a threefold gradation in the discharge of priestly functions. All that belonged to a sacrifice, presentation, laying on of hands, slaying, blood manipulation, burning on the altar, was priestly, but in different degrees. Some acts (the first three) were competent to lay offerers, who shared in the general priesthood of Israel, the "kingdom of priests." Other acts connected with ordinary sacrifices, without the tabernacle and within the first division, were competent to the general body of priests in the professional sense. The offices connected with the annual atonement were reserved for the high priest alone, the priest *par excellence*, as in the solemn service in which he exclusively officiated the whole Levitical system culminated. This gradation was a mark of imperfection and helped to increase the sense of distance from God. The people's part, though rudimentary, was very important. The pathos of the Levitical system came out in the acts which they might perform.

² Eph. v. 2. Pfeiderer, regarding this epistle as non-Pauline, finds in the text cited a different view of the atonement from that of Paul. Vide *Urchristenthum*.

ment: whether, *e.g.*, we regard the victim in a sacrifice as a substitute for the offerer, bearing the penalty of his sin, or, with Bähr and others, as the symbol of his own self-devotion, the blood presented to God representing a pure life and pledging the offerer to a life of self-consecration. On either view applied to Christ His death was of vital significance; obviously so if He bore the penalty of our sin, not less obviously if His death was but the consummation of a life of self-sacrifice, wherein He is the pattern to all His followers.

On the epithet "eternal" attached to "spirit" it is not necessary further to enlarge. As the term "spirit" guarantees the *real* worth of Christ's offering as opposed to the putative value of Levitical sacrifices, so the term "eternal" vindicates for it *absolute* worth. It lifts that offering above all limiting conditions of space and time, so that viewed *sub specie æternitatis* it may, as to its efficacy, be located at will at any point of time, and either in earth or in heaven. "Eternal" expresses the speculative element in the writer's system of thought, as "spirit" expresses the ethical.¹

At the close of this discussion I must once more point out how much the interpretation of this epistle is biased by the assumption that the priesthood of Christ was a

¹ Among other interpretations of the expression, *διὰ πνεύματος αἰώνιου*, the most favoured by recent writers is that which makes it substantially identical in import with *πρότερον ζῶν* in chap. vii. 25. So Bleek, and more recently Davidson and Edwards. On this view, the purpose of the expression is to explain how Christ could offer Himself in death, and yet *survive the operation*, so as to be able to offer Himself again to God in heaven. "Spirit" is taken, not in an ethical, but in an ontological or metaphysical sense. On this interpretation I remark, *first*, that the eternal duration of Christ's person is sufficiently recognised in chap. vii. 16, 25; and *second*, that what the connexion of thought in chap. ix. requires to be emphasized and accounted for is, not the "eternal personality" of Christ, but the real and absolute worth of His sacrifice. Rendall takes spirit in the ethical sense: "In the eternal spirit of redeeming love the Son had from the beginning planned this offering of Himself for man's redemption."

theological commonplace for the writer and his readers. Had it been so, it would have been quite superfluous to insist on so elementary a truth as that, in virtue of being an affair of mind and spirit, Christ's sacrifice possessed incomparably greater value than Levitical sacrifices. One would have expected rather a statement as to the precise significance of Christ's death, a theory of the atonement. Such a theory modern readers are chiefly interested in, and expect an expositor to bring out of the epistle. I am sorry that I am unable to gratify the natural wish, and can only offer as the result of inquiry what may appear a moral truism. My excuse must be the entirely different situation of the first readers, for whom the truism was the thing of vital importance, by no means self-evident, but needing to be insisted on. They were children who required instruction in the merest elements of the Christian doctrine of atonement, and nothing more is to be looked for in the epistle. That the only true priesthood is that in which priest and victim are one, and that the only real sacrifice is that which reveals and is offered through the spirit, is its contribution—of inestimable, not yet sufficiently estimated worth, however elementary. In what relations such a sacrifice stands to the moral order of the world, and to what extent and under what conditions it exerts its virtue, are questions left comparatively unanswered.

2. The *effect* of Christ's self-sacrifice is made to consist in purging the conscience from dead works. That "the blood of Christ" has, or must have, this effect is not proved. The writer is content to assert, and for the rest invites his readers to reflect, and appeals to their personal experience. The more the subject is thought on the clearer it becomes; and the appeal to experience is most legitimate, seeing it is within the region of conscience or consciousness that the effect takes place. That this is the case is implied rather than asserted; but the implied truth, that the real source

of disability to serve God is to be found, not in bodily defilement, but in "an evil conscience," is of cardinal importance, as forming one of the leading points of contrast between Christianity and Leviticalism.

Conscience being the sphere within which the blood of Christ exerts its cleansing power, its mode of action is correspondingly modified. The blood of Levitical victims and the ashes of the heifer were literally sprinkled, and the effect was immediate, *ex opere operato*. Christ's blood acts on the conscience through the mind interpreting its significance, and in proportion as it is thought on. It speaks to our reason and our heart, and the better we understand its language the more we feel its virtue. It has a minimum of virtue for those who, in their way of contemplating Christ's death, scarce rise above the Levitical point of view. "The blood of Jesus shed as a sin-offering, God's ordinance for salvation; I look to it, and believe, on God's word, that my sin is forgiven." This way of regarding Christ's death as a positive institution for procuring pardon, for which no account can be given save God's sovereign will, limits the range of benefit and lowers the quality of service. God's mind is not known. He is thought of perhaps as one who demands the blood of a victim in satisfaction to His justice. But there is no thought of satisfaction to His love, of His delight in His Son's love; no perception of the truth that the value of Christ's sacrifice is immensely greater for God and for man *propter magnitudinem charitatis*, as Aquinas expressed it, on account of the greatness of His love. It is difficult to serve such a God in the spirit of filial trust and devotion. When the spirit in which Christ offered Himself is taken into consideration, assurance of forgiveness is greatly strengthened. We then not merely believe that the sacrifice satisfies God, but understand in some measure why. We learn from the feelings it awakens in our own breasts that such an act of self-devotion must be well

pleasing to God, and we cannot doubt that our trusty Brother and High Priest is the beloved of His Father, and that we are accepted in Him.

Thus conscience is purged in the sense that we are assured of pardon, and are no more troubled by the sense of guilt. But the sense of guilt is not the only disability under which we labour. We are hindered from serving God at all, or effectively, by moral evil present in us even after we have believed in pardon, tempting us to doubt our standing and God's power to save, and to enter into the by-paths of legalism and self-salvation. Is there any reference to these serious disabilities in this text? If we think of the writer as a slave to Levitical forms of thought, and as dominated by the parallelism between the ancient sacrificial system and the Christian priesthood, we shall answer in the negative. In that case, we restrict the effect of Christ's sacrifice to the pardon of sin, and not of all sin, but only of sins within the covenant; the benefit being confined to those already in covenant relations, and consisting in being cleansed from sins of infirmity such as even God's people commit. I have consistently protested against this narrow interpretation of the epistle, which puts the writer practically on a level with his ill-instructed readers, and not much, if at all, in advance of the position held by the Judaistic party in the Church, and contended for an interpretation which makes the contrast everywhere prominent, and the parallelism subservient to apologetic purposes. In accordance with this view, I am inclined to take the term "purge," as I have already taken the term "sanctify," in a large sense, and to understand by the purifying of the conscience the removal of all disabilities whereby men are prevented from rendering an efficient, acceptable service unto God. I believe the writer of our epistle means to claim for Christ's sacrifice, viewed in the light of the spirit in which it was offered, the power to

deliver us from all manner of disabilities, to bestow on us "a plenteous redemption," to unloose all bonds which keep us from being in the highest, noblest sense God's servants.

Holding this view, I naturally sympathise with the interpretation of the expression "dead works" advocated by Bleek, according to which it signifies, not merely sinful works in general, but more specifically religious works done by men who serve God in a legal spirit, not in the filial spirit of trust and love. The epithet "dead" is appropriate under either interpretation, as describing the defiling influence of the works done, so that from the mere words the question cannot be decided. We must be guided in our decision by a regard to the connexion of thought and the religious condition of the first readers. Looked at from the former of these two points of view, we may assume that the phrase is employed to express the completeness and thoroughness with which Christ's blood cleanses the conscience. It is very well fitted to do that if it refer to works of religious legalism, because deliverance from the bondage of a legal spirit is the most difficult part and last instalment of redemption. The severest test of Christ's power to redeem is His ability to loose the bonds springing out of a legal religion, by which many are bound that have escaped the dominion of gross sinful habits. Nor is it a matter of small moment whether men be set free from these bonds or not; for though they do not prevent their victims from serving God after a fashion, they prevent them from rendering to the living God a service acceptable in spirit and intelligent in aim. Men under the dominion of a legal temper often think they do God service when they are simply obstructing His work in their time and thwarting His chosen instruments. In view of this fact, abundantly exemplified in the history of the Church, it becomes very apparent what cardinal im-

portance attaches to *redemption from legalism*. A man of prophetic spirit, in sympathy with Christ and Paul and reformers in every age in their judgment on religion of a legal type, could not fail to refer to Christ's power to deliver from its influence in a eulogium on His redeeming work. And such a reference was equally apposite in view of the religious state of the Hebrew Christians. For that they had not escaped the fetters of legalism is manifest from the simple fact that such an elaborate apologetic for Christianity *versus* Leviticalism was called for.

Complete redemption involves deliverance from the sense of guilt, from the power of moral evil, and from religious legalism. These combined cover at once all ethical and all religious interests, both "justification" and "sanctification" in the Pauline sense. All these benefits flow from Christ's sacrifice, *viewed in the light of the spirit through which it was offered*. We are now in a position to answer a question hinted at in one of the early papers of this series; *viz.* "Does the system of thought in this epistle provide for the union of the two kinds of sanctification? or do they stand side by side, external to each other? Are religious and ethical interests reconciled by a principle inherent in the system?"¹ I answer confidently in the affirmative, and I point to the great utterance, "through the eternal spirit," as the key to the solution of the problem. That word not only demonstrates the immeasurable superiority of Christ's sacrifice to those offered by Levitical priests, but brings unity and harmony into Christian experience. Intelligent appreciation of the spirit by which Christ offered Himself inspires that full, joyful trust in God that gives peace to the guilty conscience. But its effect does not stop there. The same appreciation inevitably becomes a power of moral impulse. The mind of Christ flows into us through the various channels of

¹ *Vide* THE EXPOSITOR for February, 1889, p. 85, note.

admiration, sympathy, gratitude, and becomes our mind, the law of God written on the heart. And the law within emancipates from the law without, purges the conscience from the baleful influence of "dead works," that we may serve the Father in heaven in the free yet devoted spirit of faith and love. To say that the author of our epistle understood all this, and here has it in view, is only to say that he was an enlightened Christian; that he walked in the broad daylight of the Christian faith, not in the dim morning twilight of Judæo-Christian compromise; that if not a Paulinist, he was at least not less sensible than Paul to what extent the world was indebted to Jesus Christ.

A. B. BRUCE.

BREVIA.

Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν (I COR. XV. 29).—The expression, οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, has always formed one of the most insurmountable difficulties in the path of the exponent of St. Paul's epistles; and the generally accepted possible interpretations are not only fraught with considerable difficulties, but admitted by most commentators of importance to be at least unsatisfactory, while the greatest of our modern theologians speak with evident embarrassment and uncertainty on the passage.

There is however one interpretation which, though possibly suggested before, has not been brought into any prominence, but yet deserves consideration and attention; for if not the true solution of the difficulty, it at least throws a flood of light upon the whole subject, and helps to clear away many of the apparently insuperable difficulties involved in any consideration of the text.

It is noticeable that, throughout the story of the progress of the gospel as given in the Acts and the epistles of St. Paul, the baptism of whole households is more frequently spoken of than that of individuals. Thus in the epistle in which this passage occurs, St. Paul says he baptized τὸν Στεφανάου οἶκον; and in other cases, such as that of the gaoler at Philippi, and, earlier, of Cornelius of Cæsarea, baptism was given to the whole house (i.e. family and servants) of the newly made convert.

This points to the fact, that it was evidently a custom in the earlier days of Christianity, a custom of necessity confined to the first introduction of that religion into a country or community, for the baptism of the *head* of a household to entail that of the family (οἶκος), in a manner somewhat similar in later years to that in which the conversion of a king or chieftain often led immediately to the conversion of his subjects or clan. Thus it may not be wrong to assume that a household was baptized whenever the head of a household was converted.

Now it is more than likely that in every family there were vacant gaps made by the deaths of loved ones who had passed away, whose memory would be fondly cherished. We know well

how strong was family feeling and regard for ancestors in early times, and it is on record that during the evangelization of north-west Europe, centuries later than the date of the Pauline epistles, a certain monarch refused baptism when on the very point of entering the font, because, in reply to a question put to the bishop administering the rite, he was told that his ancestors who had died in the old faith could not be with him in the paradise Christianity would provide. It is quite conceivable from such considerations as these that the *νεκροί*, in behalf of whom St. Paul speaks of certain being baptized, were none other than the *departed members of the family newly received into the Christian faith*.

The thought of baptism separating finally and for ever the living from the beloved dead would doubtless exercise a deterrent influence upon many otherwise willing to enter the laver of regeneration and become fully initiated Christians; but the idea of "one family in Him" could be greatly emphasised and made doubly real to the minds of converts by the apostle who baptized, not merely the family on earth *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, but those also (vicariously) who were in the invisible world, and who would, as a matter of course, have shared the newly acquired privileges with the households of which they had been cherished members, had they been alive.

By such a baptism *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* many an uneasy mind would be set at rest, and many a scruple and prejudice against accepting Christianity be overcome; nor could it be regarded as a mere artifice on the part of evangelists, for there would be nothing in it repugnant to the spirit of the Church, any more than the custom of sponsors at baptism, while it would be eminently suited to the exigencies of the times.

But such a practice would of necessity, as the number of converts increased and Christianity spread, fall into disuse, and as early as the 4th or 5th century be so far forgotten, because unrecorded, as to be unknown even as a precedent for later conversions in the West. There is however nothing to show that, in countries such as our own, the earliest evangelists may not have used this interpretation of *βαπτίζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* to precipitate the entrance into the baptismal font of kings, nations, and families. It is moreover worthy of notice that this expression occurs in an epistle wherein St. Paul speaks of baptizing a household, *καὶ τὸν Στεφανᾶ οἶκον* (i. 16), followed immediately by the

words, λοιπὸν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινα ἄλλον ἐβάπτισα, where the words *τίνα ἄλλον* may be taken to refer as well to the *οἶκον* as the individual baptism implied in the mention of *Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον* in ver. 14.

F. L. H. MILLARD.

Psalm xlv. 7.—A standing puzzle to interpreters is the phrase in Psalm xlv. 7, rendered after the LXX. in Hebrews i. 8, 9, as “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.” This is unobjectionable in point of grammar, but has against it material considerations of a formidable character. The alternative translation, “Thy God’s throne is for ever and ever,” defies the principle of Hebrew syntax, that no suffix may intrude between a construct noun and its following genitive. Passages cited as examples to the contrary are dubious, and the set of grammatical opinion is steadily against admitting the exceptional construction. Starting with the probability, that in the Elohim Psalms, the original sacred name יהוה has been displaced by a reviser, Giesebrecht points out the possibility that in this passage a יהוה=3 sing. imperf. of the substantive verb, hastily read as the Divine name, was replaced by Elohim. If that were so, every difficulty vanishes, and we should read, “Thy throne is (or shall be) for ever and ever,” a phrase that has a close parallel in 2 Samuel vii. 16, and that leads naturally on to the thought of the following verse. The conjecture is ingenious.

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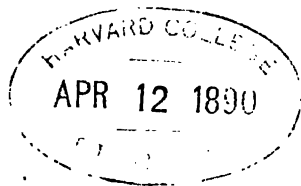
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THERE can be nothing more discouraging to a student of theology than the notion that the whole work of theology has been already done, and that nothing now remains but to learn by heart the results arrived at by past thinkers and retail them to the public with more or less adroitness and variety of statement. The data, it is said, of theology are given in the Bible, the contents of the Bible have been sifted through the minds of innumerable expositors, the results have been tabulated in systems of theology; and all that we have to do is to convert texts of Scripture into vessels with which to dip into this lukewarm reservoir, and hand them round for the general consumption.

If this really be the position in which the theological student finds himself in our day, what a contrast it presents to that of the student of science! The latter lives among novelties and surprises; he may alight at any moment on a revolutionary discovery; the horizon is constantly widening around him, and new fields tempt him to come and dig in the virgin soil. This is the kind of life which every true thinker must covet, where there is scope for originality and where research will find its reward.

But the notion that, whilst science is virgin soil, the field of theology is exhausted, though it enjoys extensive popularity, is nothing but a prejudice and a delusion. The truth is, the work of theology, so far from being exhausted, is at present terribly in arrear. The progress of thought

¹ Originally delivered as an address to students of divinity.

in other departments of human interest has brought to the front many questions of great importance which are awaiting replies ; but, in the meantime, within the Church speculation is in a far from vigorous condition. The Church is occupied with different work. After generations of torpor she has awakened to an overwhelming sense of her duty to apply the gospel to the life of the population at home and to carry it to the heathen abroad. The instrumentalities for giving effect to these impulses have been so multiplied, that every congregation is a hive of activities, which it requires the whole time and strength of the minister to direct. Even the professors in our colleges are tempted aside from their proper work to absorb themselves in all kinds of benevolent enterprises.

In some ways this state of things is gratifying, for these are signs of revived spiritual life. But meantime the work of speculation languishes and the unanswered questions accumulate, to the world's perplexity and the Church's danger. William Ames, a godly and orthodox divine of a former age, once well known, but now, I fear, nearly forgotten, says in his great work on *Conscience*, that in his day also the same thing took place : under the reviving breath of the Spirit of God evangelistic activity prevailed, the best spirits giving themselves entirely up to it ; and, whilst this was regarded as the body of the Church's duty, the toil of thought and speculation was valued only as the body's smaller members. But, says he, it turned out that these small members were the fingers and toes of the body ; and without fingers and toes the hands and feet came to be of little use ; and without hands and feet the body threatened to become a helpless log, tossed on the currents of the thought of the time. As in the building of the new Jerusalem, he continues, they handled the sword with one hand, while they built the wall with the other, so must evangelistic activity and sacred speculation go hand in hand,

if the Church is to be in a healthy state and equal to her whole duty.

This is a true testimony. Through exclusive preoccupation with even the highest work, the Church may expose herself to irreparable damage. The world around the Church never stands still. In our day it is in swift and violent motion; and out of the troubled element new knowledge, new ideals, and new problems are rising in bewildering numbers. Unless the Church has at least a part of her mind disengaged to deal with these new births of time—to understand them and absorb them—even the most saintly devotion to practical work will not save her from losing hold of the minds of men.

This is part of the work of the ministry. It is not enough to station on the watch-towers a few men to look out for the signs of the time. Only the diffusion through the teachers of the people as a body of an intelligence able to take a wide survey and a firm grasp of the questions as they arise will enable the Christian faith still to continue what its Founder intended it to be, a leaven leavening the whole lump of human life.

A wise man has said that every minister, besides possessing a competent acquaintance with the whole field of theology, ought to have a specialty of which he is master; he ought to be spoken of as the man who knows so-and-so. Probably this is every aspiring student's ideal. But the efforts put forth in this direction are often comparatively fruitless, through ignorance of the lines of study which are the most hopeful and remunerative at the time. A student would naturally choose for his specialty a field that is fresh and unexhausted. There are certain directions in which earnest and original work is more pressingly needed than in others, and work done there will be more exhilarating to the student than work attempted elsewhere. It is the purpose of this paper to point out where these compara-

tively virgin and undeveloped fields are, which at present invite the work of fresh and willing thinkers.

I.

Undoubtedly the great new phenomenon of the intellectual world in this age is natural science, and the hypothesis with which science is working is EVOLUTION. Darwin, now that his laborious life is ended, is beginning to be regarded in many quarters as the greatest man of recent times. A hundred young disciples, who worship him, are spreading his doctrines in exaggerated and dogmatic forms. He was always ready to acknowledge the difficulties lying in the way of his ideas; but they are ready to draw out the scheme of the universe, in all its elements, physical and spiritual, as an unbroken evolution from primeval matter.

It is an imposing panorama which is thus unfolded. The universe is an infinite mass of world-forming material in all stages of growth. Here it is utterly rude and shapeless; there form is just beginning to emerge out of chaos; in a third case matter has reached full organization; in a fourth it is tumbling from organization back again to chaos. Our world is only one of millions of experiments of this kind; and in it there has been a gradual ascent from the crudest forms, until man, with the exquisite flower of his intellectual and moral life, has been evolved. How far the evolution may still proceed none can tell; but no doubt our world, like the rest, will sink back into the chaos out of which it has arisen, and again form part of the raw material out of which new experiments of the same kind will in the future be produced. All is under the government of natural law, which is derived from no Lawgiver, but is inherent in the structure of things, and works out its results as a blind perpetual motion.

If any one wishes to see how imposing to the imagination

such a history of the universe may be made, he should read the description of it in a book like Strauss' *Old and New Faith*, where it is depicted with an almost poetical dignity and with the warmth of sincere, if somewhat bitter, conviction. As a creed, it has laid strong hold of the mind of Europe, especially on the Continent, and it begins to spread in the East among the educated classes of India and Japan. In this country the cooler heads acknowledge the breaks which interrupt the demonstration; but as a working hypothesis, it has given such a stimulus to discovery, and, between the breaks, the results are so imposing, that there is a constant tendency to overlook these limitations and give it a universal application. The popular mind feels the charm of an idea which brings the details gathered from a hundred fields under a single point of view; and perhaps no other idea of this kind is so fascinating in itself as that of growth—the long-extended unfolding of the higher out of the lower.

Here, then, is great and pressing work for theological speculation to do; for it would be mere self-deception to flatter ourselves that Christianity is yet done with this immense new phenomenon. The real apologetic of our age will be the Church's deliberate judgment on Darwinism.

This, however, is still to come. Our great apologetic books, such as Butler and Paley, were written before the movement of which evolution is the outcome had set in. They are still used in our colleges and are useful in their way; but they help us little with the problems of the present time. They come from an age which was agitated with different questions; they were written by men who had mastered the thought of their own time, and were able to give the Christian judgment upon it; but there is new work to be done in our time, and new men are needed to do it.

It will be necessary for Christian thought, in the first

place, to master the facts for which Darwinism is a general name. Mere criticism from the outside is of comparatively little use; Darwinism can only be dealt with by one who knows it from within. The Church will have to find out how far it is true, and work this new truth into the body of her own convictions. On this pathway there lie great gains before her; for there is some truth in the apparently eccentric thesis maintained by the author of *Ecce Homo*, in his book on *Natural Religion*, that the Unknown Cause of the agnostic may be a greater and more impressive conception than the Christian's God, because the universe of the scientist's imagination, for which it accounts, is in some cases a larger and grander one than that of the Christian. Our conceptions of God require to be incessantly refreshed by truer and more extended views of the universe of which He is the cause. A book like Professor Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* is a specimen of the novel and enriching truths which may be gathered in this inquiry, and it is only the first-fruits of a great harvest.

But, however large be the gifts which Christianity may receive from Darwinism, its chief work in regard to it will be, for a time at all events, the reassertion over against it of the principles of a spiritual philosophy. Mind is not the end, but the beginning, of the evolution of the universe. If there has been an evolution from primeval germs, there must first have been an equivalent involution. If the observation of the senses and the activity of the understanding carry us back to the beginning of evolution, there are powers of the mind still more august which irresistibly carry us farther. If the impressions made on the senses lead us to believe in the existence of material things, the impressions made on a still higher range of faculties give us the like reason for believing in a higher realm of existence. Minds absorbed with material things

may feel these impressions from the higher realm less and less; but they are the glory of human nature, and in its ultimate reckoning with Darwinism the mind of man will insist on giving them their legitimate place.

II.

The second topic to be named may be said to have been thrown to the surface by chance, in the course of the digging which has taken place about evolution. Although the scientific movement of the age is called evolution—that is, a progress forward and upward from the germs of things to their developed forms—the method of investigation has really been in the opposite direction, from the world as we now see it back through antecedent forms to the beginning. It has really been a revival of history—history being taken in its widest sense, as embracing the past of animals, plants and minerals as well as the past of man. Only the records of the civilised races were formerly dignified with the name of history; but, under the impulse of the new ideas, research has thrown itself with peculiar ardour on the obscure beginnings of civilisation and on the conditions of life anterior to civilisation. Language and folk-lore, customs and institutions, have been traced back to the remotest past, where the light of human life begins to glimmer out of the great darkness.

Now one thing which this searching investigation of the history of man has disclosed is the universal prevalence of religion. Religion is found to have been always the most influential factor in human life. It is now proved, with a force of evidence never before available, that man is a religious animal. Accordingly there has arisen a science concerning itself with this department of human life—the science of religions or COMPARATIVE RELIGION. It separates from one another the religions of the world, arranging them in the order of development; it specifies the elements which

are common to them all and contrasts their differences in ritual and creed; it translates their sacred books and estimates their influence.

This is a result of modern research which, it might be thought, would be highly interesting to the spiritual mind; for the universal prevalence and profound influence of religion would appear to be a proof that religion is an infeasible element of human nature, which, unless our nature has a lie at its heart, must have an object answering to it outside of itself. It might have been expected that the true religion would have been intensely interested in the false religions, and that Christian theology would have seized on the task of mastering their principles with peculiar avidity. This, however, has not been the case. Theology has allowed this work to be largely done by a science which is anything but theological. The study has its chief seat at present in France; and, pursued as it has been by some of the leading thinkers there, it has grown to be a formidable instrument of unbelief.

For the facts brought to light by the Science of Religions are not in all respects, at first sight at least, favourable to belief. Perhaps, indeed, to a simple faith, few experiences are more trying than a first acquaintance with another religion. Those of our countrymen who go to the East, and are brought face to face with, say, the religions of India, cannot but be struck with the resemblances between them and our own. Both have their places of worship, prayers, sacred books and ministers; and in both human hearts seem to be stirred with the same aspirations and comforted with the same hopes. The suggestion is easy, that there is no fundamental difference between them; and, as we have been taught to look upon these religions as superstitions, the conclusion may be leaped to that Christianity is only one superstition the more.

This train of reflection is one which presses on the mind

with far stronger force when a wide survey is made of religions in general. As the student passes from one system to another, he is overwhelmed with unspeakable melancholy; for he is brought in contact everywhere with the tragedy of convictions for which men have been willing to sacrifice every joy and comfort of existence, and even life itself: yet the tragedy seems to be merely a comedy, for do we not hold it to be all a delusion, till Christianity is reached? But, if the human race has been so terribly mistaken in this region from the first, what likelihood is there that it is right at the last?

This is the argument against Christianity urged in *Robert Elsmere*. Widen your knowledge of the history of the race, says the authoress, acquaint yourself with other religions; and you will find that they have the same arguments with which to support themselves as Christianity: they have their miracles and their fulfilled prophecies, just as it has; but we know that in their case the evidence is of no value; in the case of Christianity it seems sound only when you isolate it from the parallel evidence for other religions: bring the two into comparison, and you will see that they have precisely the same character.

What is the answer to all this? Is it that we have been wrong in characterizing other religions absolutely as false? Although false in some respects, are they true in others? Is it the truth in them, as far as it goes, which has made them acceptable and satisfying to those who have believed them? Are they the partially true, leading up to the absolutely true, which is Christianity? Or is Christianity something which stands wholly apart—the one way of access to God and the only means of salvation—whose glory is made the brighter by the darkness of the universal falsehood with which it is contrasted?

These are pressing questions, but they are by no means simple. If you say, "Yes, these other religions were all

good in their degree; they were honest gropings of the human spirit after the Father, and gave real, though imperfect, culture to the same instincts as are nourished by Christianity," you seem to place yourself in direct antagonism to the vehemently expressed convictions of the prophets and the primitive teachers of the true religion, and with the solemn statements of the Author of this religion Himself. If, on the contrary, you answer the other way, you come into collision not only with the spirit of the age, but apparently also with that sense of sympathy and fairness which has been the light by whose guidance the best conquests of the modern intellect have been made. In short, this is a region which believing theology has still to a large extent to master, and in which there is almost boundless scope for both investigation and speculation.

III.

A third region in which there is plenty of work clamantly calling for new workers is BIBLICAL CRITICISM. The tendency of the present age to go back to the beginnings of things and sift the records of the past has naturally concentrated itself on those records which Christians believe to be the most important in existence—the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and the instruments of criticism, which have been sharpened with use in the testing of other documents, have been applied with especial thoroughness to these.

The critical movement is the commanding phenomenon of our day in theology. The conclusions about the sacred books—their ages, authors and trustworthiness—arrived at by those who drew up the canon, and accepted for many centuries, have all been called in question; and what shape the conviction of the Church about them will assume, when it becomes fixed again, time alone can determine. To do this work lay in the course of the peculiar tendencies of

our time; and it cannot be denied that the accumulation of knowledge and the possession of new methods of research have put the present age in a more advantageous position for investigating this subject than even ages which were far nearer the object of inquiry.

For a hundred years this critical process has been going on in Germany with an immense expenditure of learning and acumen. In Holland and France likewise the movement has had a long history, and, in the former country at least, has not been less thorough in its methods or less disturbing to accepted beliefs than in Germany. The Church has the most vital interest in the process; for the Word of God is the bread of life to her.

But, whilst this warfare of learned opinion has been agitating the Churches of the Continent, we in this country have kept tolerably well out of it. Though the merits of English scholarship have been high in textual criticism, comparatively little has been done here for the higher criticism. The whole process, for example, of investigation in regard to the New Testament from the rise of the Tübingen theories to their partial settlement, which has now perhaps been reached, may, without much exaggeration, be said to have transacted itself without the scholars of this country intervening at all. Our scholars have been content to hover on the outskirts of the battle, waiting to go in, when the combatants had exhausted themselves, and share the spoils.

If the struggle about the New Testament has in some degree quieted down, that about the Old Testament is at this moment in full action. In this case also we may stand by and wait till others have completed the struggle, without taking the trouble to master the learning which is needed to entitle us to have an opinion of our own. But, not to speak of the ignobleness of this position, it is an exceedingly dangerous one; because the whole subject

might be sprung on us at any moment by a single man raising the questions, and we should be put to shame before the public, which looks to us as its religious instructors. This was precisely what happened when Professor Robertson Smith threw down the whole mass of Old Testament problems in the midst of the Free Church of Scotland. The Church was taken unprepared; and at last the controversy had to be closed, not by answering the questions, but by ejecting the questioner. This is not the place of course to express any opinion on the justice or wisdom of the ecclesiastical procedure; but, as a question of learning, the conclusion was eminently unsatisfactory. The subject has been flung outside the door, but at any moment it may burst its way in again; and is any of the Churches ready to deal with it?

Of course the great question in the background is the authority of Scripture; and there are no problems, I imagine, which are perplexing the minds of students of theology more at present than those surrounding the inspiration of the Bible. Has the searching inquiry which has sifted every chapter and verse left it still possible to believe in the Bible as men used to do? Can it be maintained, for instance, that its statements can be reconciled with the ascertained facts of geology, astronomy and history? When two or more accounts of the same events are given, as in the gospels of the New Testament or the historical books of the Old, can the records be proved to agree? Is the miraculous element in the New Testament, and especially in the Old, capable in all details of successful defence? If not—if to any extent mistakes as to matters of fact are to be admitted in the Bible—how can its authority be vindicated in matters of doctrine? Is it reasonable to accept a book as the final standard of truth for faith and conduct, if you say that there are in it myths, exaggerations and mistakes? Is the Bible really

“independent of criticism”? or is there a kind of criticism which is inconsistent with any real reverence for its authority?

Many will be found ready, on both sides, to answer these questions off-hand; but it is far wiser to look upon the answering of them as a task imposed by Providence on this generation, which can only be discharged by honest and patient inquiry, but may and ought to be discharged in faith, because it is His.

On the one hand, it is undeniable that the traditional and popular views about the age and origin of the various books of the Bible stand in urgent need of revisal. When the light of modern research is directed on these books, facts are disclosed in great numbers with which the Church has not yet dealt. She will have to deal with them; for while theories change, facts remain. “There is scarce any truth,” says Thomas Goodwin, “but hath been tried over and over again; and still if any dross happen to mingle with it, then God calls it in question again. The Holy Ghost is so curious, so delicate, so exact, He cannot bear that any falsehood should be mingled with the truths of the gospel. This is the reason why God doth still, age after age, call former things in question, because that there is still some dross one way or other mingled with them.”

On the other hand, it is equally undeniable that the experience of other Churches and countries in dealing with these questions is well fitted to warn, and even to alarm; for it shows, that this work may be so managed as to sow the fields of the Church with the salt of barrenness. We need a thoroughly independent and British study of the whole subject, done by theologians in sympathy with the best religious life of the country. Some of our most advanced thinkers in this department are as yet so dependent on German scholarship for their facts and ideas, that their writings could be broken up into sentences, and the

fragments referred to the different foreign sources to which they belong. Amiel said of certain Swiss *littérateurs*, that they only poured water into the Seine; and there is a great deal of theological work being done at present in this country which is only the pouring of a few buckets into the Rhine. No past age ever had greater reason than ours to prize and revere the Scriptures; they are read more extensively than they have ever been before, and, wherever they are studied, they prove themselves the power of God. This is a conviction which our best experience has formed in us. But the very intensity and serenity with which the Church holds this conviction ought to make her address herself without delay to the frank and thorough appreciation of all the facts.

IV.

The work of criticism just described has done one thing for the Bible which may at first sight appear an evil: it has converted it from one book into a number of books. To our fathers it was a single book, from every part of which they quoted indiscriminately, as if it were a homogeneous whole; to us it is a literature, a collection of volumes of different ages and of varied character.

This breaking up of the Scripture is an evil, if it make us lose sight of the unity of the Word of God; for after all, it is truer to say that the Bible is one book than that it is a collection of books: it is one message of redeeming love to men, and among the evidences of its Divine excellence a leading place belongs to "the consent of all the parts and the scope of the whole, which is to give glory to God." But, if it be an evil, it is an evil out of which good has come; for it has given rise, within a century, to a new and most fruitful theological science.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY only became possible when it was recognised that the literature of which the Bible is com-

posed consists of a number of strata, belonging to different ages and of different character, like the geological formation disclosed by a steep cutting. When the dates of the books are ascertained, and they are arranged in chronological order, it undertakes to show that there is in them a gradual development of revelation, proceeding by slow and sure stages from the earliest to the latest. The older theology was partially aware of such a development from the Old Testament to the New; but this new science undertakes to exhibit it from book to book, or at least, from group to group of books, within each Testament by itself. For example, in the New Testament it distinguishes, say, four great groups of books: first, the synoptic gospels; secondly, the Petrine writings and other books of a similar character; thirdly, the Pauline epistles; and, fourthly, the Johannine writings. In each of these groups there is a complete view of Christianity, proceeding from a central idea and ramifying outwards to the circumference; and Biblical Theology undertakes to reconstruct this view from the documents. As, however, you pass from one of these circles to another, you perceive that you are passing from a simpler to a more advanced view of the subject, till, when the last is reached, the revelation is complete.

There is something intensely fascinating in this mode of study; you might almost call the science which has risen out of it the romance of theology. Perhaps it is the sense of growth which is so attractive; for in all studies this is an inspiring idea. Besides, it brings theology into line with what is the guiding principle of science at the present day. There has been evolution in revelation. God did not give the truth all at once, but "at sundry times and in divers manners." It is thus like all His other works. All God's creations grow. In the field we have first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear; and in human life there is a progress through the stages of child-

hood, youth, manhood and old age. The delight which we feel in watching things grow seems to be borrowed from the Divine mind itself; and the same characteristic which makes the study of nature so fascinating lends, when it is perceived, a new interest to revelation.

There are other advantages which will accrue from this fruitful line of study. It throws light on the difficulties, to which great importance has sometimes been attached, to be met with in the imperfect views of God and morality given in the earlier books of Scripture; for these would appear to be inseparable from this mode of revelation. It is rapidly putting some of the shallower systems of doctrine which have claimed scriptural sanction out of court. It has already, for example, made the claim of Unitarianism to any kind of scriptural support untenable; for it has shown that the deity of Christ is not only proved by isolated texts, as the older divinity was able to show, but lies at the very heart of the whole system of thought of every New Testament writer. Above all, by the thoroughness with which it ascertains the exact contents of every part of Scripture, it is accumulating the materials for a more complete and certain exhibition than the Church has ever hitherto been able to give of what the precise teaching of the Bible is on the various problems with which it deals.

It is not creditable to British theology, that those desiring to begin the study of this noble science, which has existed for a hundred years, should have scarcely any resource but to turn to text-books translated from the German, French or Dutch. The chaos which at present reigns in Old Testament criticism may, indeed, well scare scholars from the task of attempting a Theology of the Old Testament; but the toil, which goes on incessantly, of writing on the books of the New Testament commentaries which are not better than those which already exist might perhaps pause for a time to allow the results of exegesis to be gathered up in

systems of New Testament Theology ; for the latest writer on this science has not formed too enthusiastic an estimate of his own subject when he says : " To me, Biblical Theology is the most important organ which the Church of the present, longing for new spiritual power, and the Dogmatic of the present, thirsting for new principles, possess for bringing living water out of that well from which alone it can be drawn."

V.

One of the advantages suggested above as likely to be derived from the cultivation of biblical theology is, that from the exacter ascertainment of what the Bible actually teaches the materials may be obtained for a new development of dogmatic theology. It can scarcely however be said that dogmatic theology is at present an inviting field to those who, warm with the passion for discovery, may be wishing to dig in virgin soil. Dogmatic theology had its long day of favour, and it will have it again ; but in the meantime the temper of the age rather turns away from it. Perhaps the materials on which it has worked are exhausted, and it must wait till new ones accumulate.

Yet there is one portion of the dogmatic domain which, in this country at least, has been but imperfectly cultivated, and seems at present to promise abundant returns for work which may be expended on it. I mean the field of theological or CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

In our catechisms and systems of divinity it has been usual to find a place for an exposition of the ten commandments as a summary of human duty. In some cases—as, for example, in the *Larger Catechism*—this work has been brilliant of its kind ; but it has scarcely deserved to be called scientific. In fact, the exposition has generally had the appearance of a long and awkward excursus, rather than of a component part of the dogmatic system. The tendency

therefore, which has manifested itself on the Continent of late, to treat Christian Ethics as a separate science, parallel with dogmatics, is a happy one; and some of the most profound and attractive books of the century are on this subject.

In this country we have a very extensive ethical literature; but as a rule it has carefully avoided the Christian or biblical standpoint. Man as an ethical being has been treated simply as a portion of nature, and the new outlooks and possibilities opened to him by revelation have been ignored. This has imported peculiar poverty and coldness into much of our ethical literature. Indeed, to pass from one of our ordinary books on moral philosophy to one of the great works on Christian Ethics produced during the present century on the Continent is like passing from the polar regions to the tropics. In the former, there is usually a careful avoidance of reference to what Christians believe to be the strongest forces working for good and evil in the world—sin, redemption, the Spirit of God, the Church; but in the latter these are the most prominent subjects. Ethical work of great value has recently been done by our native thinkers on questions which belong to the prolegomena or the science; but one does not know where in our literature to look for a system of ethics such as one imagines possible, in which the whole of human life should be pictured forth in grandeur and repose, like a rich and varied landscape seen from a mountain top, with a man's own pathway from time to eternity lying clearly indicated through the midst of it.

The thorough philosophical training which our students receive, and the enthusiasm for philosophy which at present prevails in our universities, ought to make a new development in this direction easy. Many of those who enter the ministry of our Churches have been distinguished in the philosophical classes, and it is surprising that so few of them

afterwards produce anything in the line of their academic attainments. The reason seems to be, that they have not courage enough to forsake the beaten path of ethical discussion and strike into pathways of inquiry more akin to the work of their own office.

These are perhaps the most pressing of the tasks which theology has at present to face; and it will be acknowledged that they present work enough to even the keenest and most aspiring minds. To timid minds, indeed, the description of them may be discouraging. If, it may be asked, so many things are unsettled, is a man justified in going forward to preach the gospel, before the difficulties have been cleared away? When reading the history of our own country in times of conflict, such, for example, as the period of the Napoleonic wars, a reader may become so absorbed in campaigns and sieges, fields of battle and fights at sea, as to have the impression that during those years all England must have been standing on tiptoe, watching with straining eyes and beating heart to see what was to be the issue of the conflict which imperilled her existence. But it will surprise him, upon making a closer acquaintance with the history of the period, to discover that during these years, on the island "ribbed and paled in with rocks unscalable and roaring waters," life was going on much as usual: the fields were tilled and the harvests reaped; spring with its freshness and summer with its glory gladdened the land; the mill-wheel went round, the hammer rang on the anvil, and the shuttle flew through the web; men slept and woke and ate their daily bread; children were born, lovers married, and widows wept; nor were laughter and merriment much less loud than usual; the various life of a great and happy people went on from day to day. In the same way, the warfare with unbelief is at present loud and far-extended, and sometimes the problems of the day will seem

to us, as we study them, to be so momentous, that we think everything ought to stop till they are settled. But Christianity is not a country which still needs to be discovered. It is a home of human souls, wide, well known and intensely loved, from whose soil a hundred generations have been nourished; and, though there is at present pressing work in theology for the soldier-thinker to do, who marches to the borders to defend the faith against the inroads of scepticism, and for the pioneer-thinker, who goes in search of lands in which belief may find new dwellings, yet to cultivate the fields of the old home as faithful husbandmen, that its children may not lack their food, but grow up in spiritual health and strength, will ever be the main work of the Christian ministry.

JAMES STALKER.

THE FUNCTION OF TRIAL.

"James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes of the Dispersion, Joy to you. Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold trials, knowing that the proving of your faith worketh patience; but let patience have a perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, lacking in nothing."—JAS. i. 1-4.

JAMES was "the Lord's brother," or, as we should say, His first cousin, His close kinsman—the Greek word for "brother" having a larger meaning than ours. Was not this the most honourable of his titles, and the surest passport to his readers' esteem? Apparently he thinks not; for he designates himself "*a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ*," as if this were the highest title he could claim; as indeed it was. For the Lord Jesus Himself affirmed that "to do the will of His Father" was better than to be His brother after the flesh; and when "a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice," and exclaimed

on the blessedness of the mother who had such a Son as He, He replied, "Blessed rather are they who hear the word of God, and keep it." James had learned the lesson. He felt that an obedient spirit was more than kinship of blood; that to be a servant, doing God's will from the heart, was better than to be a brother of the God manifest in the flesh.

That he held Jesus Christ to be nothing less than God manifest in the flesh is apparent from his calling Jesus Christ his "Lord," which was the common Jewish name for the Father Almighty, and from his bracketing the two names together in the phrase, "a servant of God *and* of the Lord Jesus Christ." If any modern teacher were to sign himself "a servant of God *and* of Calvin," or "of Arminius," should we not shrink as from a wanton blasphemy, and charge him with having spoken of a mere man as though he were "the fellow of the Lord of hosts"? Judge then what James meant when he described himself as equally bound to the service of Jesus and of God.

James, the servant of God and of Christ, writes to "*the twelve tribes in the Dispersion*"; i.e. as we have seen, to the foreign Jews who were settled in all the great seats of commerce and learning throughout the civilized world, to the Hellenised Jews who read their Scriptures and worshipped God in the Greek tongue. To these Hellenists, to those at least who had embraced the Christian faith, James the Jew writes in Greek; nay, he even addresses to them the Greek salutation. When Hebrew met Hebrew, the one saluted the other with "*Peace to you*"; for they had learned that the real blessedness of life was to be at peace with all the world, themselves, and God. But when Greek met Greek, the one saluted the other with "*Joy to you*," the Greeks being lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of peace. Of course, when they used this salutation, they did not always recognise its full meaning, any more than

we, when we say, "Good-bye," always remember that the word means, that it is a contraction of, "God be with you." But St. James both compels his readers to think of its meaning, by continuing, "Count it all *joy* when ye fall into manifold trials," and at once proceeds to put a higher, a Christian, meaning into the heathen salutation. *His* joy, the joy he wishes them, is not that pleasant exhilaration which results from gratified senses or tastes of which the Greeks were conscious when things went to their mind; nor that heightened and happy consciousness of the sweetness of life which they held to be the supreme good. It was rather the "peace" for which the Hebrew sighed; but that peace intensified into a Divine gladness, elevated into a pure and sacred delight. It was the joy which springs from being restored to our true relations to God and man, from having all the conflicting passions, powers, and aims of the soul drawn into a happy accord. It was that fine spiritual essence which radiates new vigour and delight through all the faculties and affections of nature when we stay ourselves no longer on the changeful phenomena of time, but on the sacred and august realities of eternity.

A peace all shot through and through with the rich exhilarating hues of gladness, *this* was the "joy" which St. James invoked on the twelve tribes of the Dispersion, as we learn from the verses which immediately follow his salutation.

To those who stood outside the Church, and looked only on the outward appearance, in wishing them "joy" he might seem to be mocking them. For in all outward respects they were of all men most miserable.. Their lot was full of pain, adversity, shame. The Christian faith was not yet formally persecuted by the Roman government indeed; for James was writing within twenty years after the death of Christ, and for ten years after that death the

gospel was not carried beyond the limits of Syria. So that, in all probability, those who first read this Epistle had not accepted the faith of Christ more than five or seven years. It had not been long enough in the Roman empire to attract the attention of the authorities, nor had it as yet touched the general population. But, as we all know, private hostility precedes public persecution, and is often harder to bear. And there was that in the position of foreign Jews who had accepted Jesus as the Christ which would infallibly involve them in "manifold trials" and tribulations. Their Jewish neighbours had listened to the same teaching with themselves, examined the same credentials, and they had deliberately rejected the Man of Nazareth. They would therefore regard their brethren who accepted Jesus of Nazareth as base and impious apostates. Not content with casting them out of the synagogue with stripes, they would refuse all private intercourse with them. They would speak against and denounce them. They would prejudice the minds of the heathen against them; and the heathen would be only too apt to conceive a prejudice against men whose sanctuary held no image, whose ritual embraced no "mysteries," and whose pure austere life was a standing rebuke to their vices and pleasures. The Jews themselves were eyed with suspicion, and were the first to suffer when the mob of a Roman city took the law into its own hands. But *these* Jews, whom the Jews themselves loathed and denounced, would be held as the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things.

We may be sure, then, that the life of the Christian Jews was made hard and bitter to them by the rancour of their fellow countrymen, and by the growing suspicion and animosity of the alien races among whom they sojourned. "Joy" would seem to have forsaken them. To meet them with a "Joy to you" would sound like a jest or an insult,

as it would have been had this joy been simply the result of happy outward conditions. But their spring of joy did not flow from the mere surface of life. It bubbled up from the deep underlying strata, and still ran on whatever changes vexed the surface. It was the joy of happy *spiritual* conditions, the joy which springs from being harmoniously adjusted to one's supreme relations, of knowing that all things are ruled by God, and over-ruled for good.

"*Joy to you,*" says St. James; but he instantly adds, "Count it all joy *when ye fall into manifold trials.*" And how should joy ever fail men who were hated and despised alike by heathen and by Hebrew neighbours, if they could find joy in their very trials, and *nothing but* joy? This is what St. James meant. "Count it all joy" means, "Count it *nothing but* joy," "Count it *pure* joy," "Count it *the highest* joy," when trials of many different kinds surround and confront you. They had trouble enough, and therefore they might have joy enough, if they could but learn the secret of extracting joy from trouble.

And why should they not learn it? It is simple enough. A paradox to the thoughtless, it is an axiom with the wise. For "trial" means "test." And it is as we are tested that we learn our own weakness, learn what and where it is, and are set on correcting it. Hard and sorrowful outward conditions are so manifestly tests of character, and calls to strength and nobility of character, that many of the philosophers of antiquity systematically ordained and submitted to them. They held the keen edge of penury and self-denial to yield a discipline so valuable, that they set him down for a fool who, in order to become wise and good, would not cheerfully submit to it. And though the gospel of Christ does not bid us invent trials and impose them on ourselves, though it admits that no chastening is for the present joyous, but grievous, it nevertheless teaches us that the losses and sorrows we meet as we pass through life

are, or ought to be, a discipline in righteousness and perfection. It is not the gospel that brings the trials; it simply teaches us how to turn them to good account. Here they are, ordained by a Will which we can neither evade nor resist. The only question is, how we shall meet and bear them. At this point the Gospel steps in to show us how we may so use them as to get joy out of them, the true abiding joy, that of becoming perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect. It affirms that we are infected with a moral weakness, or disease, of which our sorrows are the natural and inevitable result, and of which they may become a sovereign remedy. For the sorrows bred by sin dispose us to hate and renounce the sin which produces them. The sorrows that disclose an unsuspected weakness set us on seeking a strength that shall be made perfect in weakness. Nay, even the sorrows which involve shame and remorse have a cleansing virtue, if only our sorrow be of a godly sort.

“But the Jews of the Dispersion,” it may be said, “were not suffering for their sins, but for their virtues, for their faith in Christ and their obedience to His law!”

True, but in suffering for our faith, may we not also be suffering for our faults—for the weakness of our faith, for instance? Are we not evidently suffering for the faults of our neighbours, and so “filling up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ,” suffering with Him, that we may also share His joy? The faith of these Jews *must* have been weak and immature. If all had gone well with them, if the world had smiled on them, might not their faith have lost even what vigour it had in that soft relaxing air? Might they not have conceded first this, and then that, to neighbours who were so kind to them, till hardly anything was left? It may be that, but for the “many trials” which the hostility of the world and the synagogue brought upon them, they would have remained

very imperfectly Christian to the end of their lives, even if they had remained Christian at all. Their trials put them on their mettle. When nothing was open to them but publicly renouncing Christ, or cleaving to Him in the teeth of a hostile world, their choice was clear, their duty plain. They *must* cleave to Him; and, cleaving to Him, they would be driven closer and closer to Him by the very opposition designed to detach them from Him. Their very weakness may have made tribulation all the more necessary for them.

On one point, happily for us, St. James is quite clear: *viz.* that tribulation is discipline; that by the divers trials which befall us God is making, or seeking to make, us perfect and complete. And where can we find a more welcome and inspiriting view of tribulation than this? Sickness, sorrow, loss, bereavement *will* come to us, as they come to all. We cannot hope to escape them. And as we must bear them, let us at least get out of them what comfort, what good, we can. We may get the truest comfort, the highest good, from them—maturity and completeness of Christian character, which is a good for the next life as well as for this.

For, says St. James, trials are tests: they come for “the proving” of our faith. They teach us how much faith we have, or how little; what our faith can do, and what it cannot. To “know ourselves” is the last attainment of human wisdom, so complex and mysterious is our nature, so “deceitful” our hearts, even when they are no longer “desperately wicked.” Trials teach us to know ourselves, what we really are, on what we rest, to what we most strongly cling, whether we really prefer truth to gain, for example, and duty to pleasure, whether we believe most in the things which are unseen and eternal or in those which are seen and temporal.

It is God, our reconciled God and Father, who appoints

these tests, God who applies them. And therefore we may be sure that they come for good ends. God does not try us simply to show that we have no faith worth having, or that we are far weaker than we thought. He puts us to the test to convince us that we have some faith, if only enough to make us grieve over our failures, and to increase our faith. We may be sure that His intention is kind from what we know of Him. If we are not sure, St. James assures us. He says, "*the proving of your faith worketh patience*"; i.e., for so the word means, it results in a firm and steadfast *constancy*, in a *fidelity* which can face all seductions and allurements, all menaces and fears. And the moment we consider it, we find the saying true. Who *are* those who are truest to their convictions when the minds of men are perplexed with fear of change, when doubt takes new forms, or the world arrays itself in new charms, or the very Church becomes the home of a decent worldliness, or of a bitter animosity to new and larger forms of truth and goodness? It is the men who have been *tried*, who have sustained "manifold trials"; it is the men who have been "rooted and grounded" in the truth and charity of Christ by many a storm of change. "Tried" and "faithful" are all but synonyms in our common speech, so close, so obvious, is the connexion between trials and fidelity.

But if our trials are to produce this constant and faithful temper in us, we must "*let patience have a perfect work.*" Since chastening is grievous to us, the danger is that we should seek to escape it as soon as we can, forgetting that only "*he that endureth to the end will be saved.*" The acid that tries the gold *bites* the gold, or, rather, it bites the alloy in the gold. Tests are painful; and they make unwelcome calls on our energy and fortitude. We must therefore let patience have her perfect work, we must suffer our constancy, our fidelity to God, to be exposed to

many and searching trials, if we would reap the full benefit of our trials.

And what is this full benefit? "*That ye may be perfect and entire, lacking nothing,*" or lacking in nothing. The word here rendered "perfect" is elsewhere (1 Cor. xiv. 20 and Heb. v. 14) taken to denote *manliness* or *maturity*. So that the full benefit of trial is, that, if we endure it with a patient fidelity, we become *mature* men in Christ Jesus, nay, *complete* men, lacking nothing that a Christian man should have and enjoy. And what higher reward could possibly be set before a reasonable and religious being? What we want, what we know we want, most of all, is to have our character fully and happily developed, its various and often hostile affections and aims absorbed and harmonized, by having them all brought under law to Christ. To become such men as He was, and to walk even as also He walked, is not this the supreme end of all who call and profess themselves Christians? is it not our chief good, our highest blessedness?

Our sorrow and unrest spring from our immaturity, from the partial and ill-balanced development of our spiritual nature. One man is kind and generous, but he is also vain; he has a boastful and inaccurate tongue; he is too much the creature of changeful impulses, or yields too easily to the several influences brought to bear upon him from without. Another is modest, gentle, patient; but he has little courage, or generosity, or ardour. One is pious and devout; but he is also selfish, and lays too strong a grasp on this world's goods. Another is forward in every good work, but lacks the contemplative spirit which alone could guide him to work wisely. And still another loves truth, and asks nothing better than to be allowed to study and meditate upon its mysteries; but he shrinks from active service, from the toil of ministering to the ignorant, the sick, the poor, the rude. "The child is father of the man,"

says Wordsworth; and we may add, "And the man is often as childish as his father." None of us are ripened and mature men, complete at all points, lacking in none.

And how shall we be made complete save by manifold trials borne with good fidelity? How are lads changed into men mature enough to face and use the world? By being kept at home, guarded from all strain, all temptation, all hardness—no wind suffered to visit their cheek too roughly? or by being sent out to face all weathers, even the worst; to mix with men of many kinds, even the worst; to withstand all temptations, even the worst? As lads are made men, so are the sons of God made complete men in Christ. The Church has *milksops* enough and to spare! It would have nothing else but for the manifold trials which God calls some of us to face, in order that, by faithfully and patiently meeting them, we may be trained in the image and for the service of that Son of man who Himself was made perfect by the things which He suffered.

Let us then ask for wisdom and grace to "count it all joy when we are compassed about by manifold trials, knowing that the proving of our faith worketh patience," and that if we "let patience have her perfect work" in us, not hurrying to escape from the trials by which our fidelity is tested and trained, we ourselves shall grow into "perfect and entire" men, "lacking nothing," though now we lack so much.

S. Cox.

RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. DÖLLINGER.

II. ROMAN DIFFICULTIES.

ON June 6th, 1871, the University of Oxford conferred the degree of D.C.L. by diploma on Dr. Döllinger, and on June 13th I had the honour and delight of presenting the diploma to him. The degree had been opposed by a Master of Arts, who had left the Church of England and become a strong ultramontane; and the printed paper stating the reasons for this opposition had been forwarded to Dr. Döllinger. He spoke with characteristic generosity of it, saying that the grounds stated were very intelligible and reasonable. I told him that some who voted for the degree thought the opposition a good thing, as it showed that the significance of it was understood in ultramontane quarters.

Dr. Döllinger had been publicly excommunicated April 23rd, a punishment, as he himself had said, usually reserved for priests guilty of the grossest immorality, but only very rarely inflicted upon them; yet visited on him, because he continued to reject what he knew to be false, and what the very man who pronounced the sentence had himself rejected in like manner only a few months previously. The Oxford degree, and many other similar expressions of esteem and sympathy, were the answer of the intelligence of Europe to this most iniquitous sentence. On purely technical grounds, the sentence was unjustifiable; for the Council had never been formally dissolved, and therefore its decrees were not yet absolute.

Dr. Döllinger took me into his inner room, placed me on the sofa, and sat down beside me. We were soon discussing the existing state of things in the Roman Church. He said that the situation was grave in the extreme, but that he was fully persuaded that good would come of all the evil.

The pressure of the intolerable abuses inside the Church, and of infidelity outside it, would compel all parties to reconsider their position, and especially their reasons for separation. Thus parties and sects and Churches would be gradually drawn more and more together. In some cases perhaps reconsideration of the position might tend for a while to deepen and widen differences; but in the main the tendency would be the other way. For instance, he did not think it possible that the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit could continue to be an insuperable barrier between the East and the West. The Greek clergy were becoming better instructed, and an increased knowledge of theology and history would lead them to take a less rigid and narrow view respecting the disputed points. The grievous item on the other side of the account was the Infallibility dogma. An irreconcilable split in the Roman Church was inevitable;¹ for the dogma was a rock of offence which it was not possible to get over. There were many who simply could not accept it.

"But when men of Bishop Hefele's learning and ability submit, what is one to expect?"

"Hefele's submission," said Dr. Döllinger, "is the result of great debility of character. He is, I know, at the present moment very unhappy in his mind. He has not the courage to state the plain truth and take the consequences."

Dr. Döllinger seemed to think Bishop Hefele's letter to his clergy a quibble. He had refused to join with the seventeen bishops who had issued a pastoral from Fulda in September, 1870, in which they declared that it was incompatible with the Catholic religion to say that the doctrine of papal infallibility is not contained in Scripture

¹ It will be remembered that the Old Catholics were not yet organized as a party, still less as a Church. The attitude of those who rejected the Vatican decrees was simply one of protest.

and tradition. In Rome he had spoken of resigning his diocese rather than publish the Infallibility dogma. And yet the refusal to renew his quinquennial faculties forthwith brought him to his knees. Dr. Döllinger said that the submission of Haneberg, the Abbot of S. Boniface, in Munich, was a similar case: he was a well-read scholar, who, like Hefele, preferred unity to truth. Yes, it was true that some were deprived of the sacraments for rejecting the dogma; but as yet there was a great deal of difference in the practice of bishops towards their clergy and of clergy towards their flocks. There was no unity of action. Some bishops, like Cardinal Schwarzenberg, published the dogma as an official document for which they were not responsible, and left their clergy free. Others forced their clergy to accept it on pain of suspension. Even in the same diocese differences in the treatment of clergy occurred. Those who were under him as Provost of the Royal Churches had not been questioned as to their acceptance of the dogma. The same was true of the clergy themselves. Some made the dogma a test; others left their congregations to settle the matter with their own consciences. In the towns there was seldom any difficulty. There were always some clergy who had submitted outwardly, but yet did not believe the dogma, and they were willing to give the sacraments to those who were known to have rejected it, without asking questions. What a strange contrast the whole of the situation was to that in the Scotch Kirk! In Scotland Christians who were entirely agreed as to matters of doctrine thought it worth while to make a schism on the question of patronage. In the Roman Church Christians were professing to accept what they believed to be false rather than risk a schism.

He said that there had never before been such a meagre attendance at the procession on Corpus Christi Day as there had been this year in Munich. Neither the king nor

the court was there. Excepting two ministers, the government was not there. Excepting two or three professors of theology and one of law, the university was not there. This of course meant indignation against the archbishop and sympathy with Dr. Döllinger, although the latter did not say so. He said however, that the king's constitutional power was very great, and that, if he liked to take a decided line, he might have enormous influence in the existing crisis; but he abhorred State business, and disliked coming to the front. I mentioned that the papers stated that the king had written to congratulate him on a recently published essay on prophecies in Christian times, and he did not deny that this was the case. It was well understood that the king was entirely with his provost, and would certainly have stood by him if he had defied the archbishop and continued to celebrate in the royal churches. But Döllinger always lived and died a loyal member of the Church. Rome's cruel treatment of him never drove him into rebellion against lawful authority. When Rome said to him, "Believe the new dogma," he said, "I cannot, for it is not true; and I will not submit, because you have no authority to impose it." When she said, "Cease to celebrate mass," he obeyed at once: it was possible to do so; and, although he believed the command to be unjust, he submitted to it as coming from one who had authority to give it.

I was with him thrice that day, in the forenoon, at dinner, and in the evening. An hour or two after leaving him I was on my way to Rome bearing a letter from him to Père Hyacinthe, from whom I heard a good deal that corroborated Dr. Döllinger's utterances and attitude. We were neighbours in Rome, and I saw a good deal of him during June and July. Then he returned to France. But I was with him again in Paris at the end of August, and also the following June, before returning to attend Dr.

Döllinger's lectures once more in Munich. Through him I became acquainted with three cases of submission to the dogma, which are so typical that no excuse is needed for introducing them here.

1. Archbishop Darboy, of Paris, had been one of the most strenuous opponents of the dogma. He was one of the eighty-eight who voted *non placet* at the final division, June 13th, 1870, and he was the inspirer and almost the author of *La Dernière Heure du Concile*, in which it was shown that the Council had been coerced, and that its decrees were *forced* upon its members.¹ Yet he submitted to them. A few days before his tragic death in 1871 Père Hyacinthe was with him, and the archbishop said to him: *Ce dogme n'a pas l'importance que vous lui attribuez, et au fond il ne décide rien. Je n'y étais pas opposé comme théologien, car il n'est pas faux, mais comme homme, parce qu'il est inepte. On nous a fait jouer à Rome le rôle de sacristains, et pourtant nous étions au moins deux cents qui valions mieux que cela.*"—This then was one method of submitting: The dogma means nothing. It is silly, but not false. Therefore it may be accepted.

2. While I was in Paris in August, 1871, I visited Père Gratry, the author of the four famous letters against the definition. He had not yet publicly submitted; but it was certain that the ultramontane Guibert, the new Archbishop of Paris, would call upon him to submit, and his friends knew that he would comply. Père Gratry deplored the active line taken by Hyacinthe, an activity "*nuisible et stérile*"; he was now quite in the wrong.

"But what Père Hyacinthe has written is not more strong than what you have written."

"You mean in my letters to the Archbishop of Malines? They were written before the Council."

¹ "*Les évêques ont été appelés à sanctionner ce que les Jésuites avaient écrit; voilà toute l'histoire du concile*" (p. 4).

"But are they true?"

"Yes, in the main. Some errors of detail there may well be; but the position maintained in them is correct, and I maintain it still. I still hold that the infallibility of the Pope is neither independent (*séparée*), nor personal, nor absolute."

"That is the very negation of the dogma."

"Not necessarily. There is a sense in which both may be true; and I find in my conscience that I can accept the dogma and still hold to what I wrote in my letters to the Archbishop of Malines. I have heard the archbishop himself say that the personal and absolute infallibility of the Pope was a blasphemy."

This therefore was a second method of submitting: Assert that the dogma means the very opposite of what it plainly states, and then say that you accept it.

3. The third instance was that of a priest who visited Hyacinthe at Passy, and told him that he had two convictions, an external and an internal. "With the external I accept the dogma; with the internal I reject it." And this was said quite calmly, as if there were nothing strange or scandalous in such an avowal.—Third method of submission: Profess to accept the dogma, although you believe it to be false.

Well might Döllinger say that the dogma had produced a general *bankruptcy* in morality.

I was the bearer to him of some kind messages from Dr. Newman, whom I had seen before leaving England, and who of course thought that those who were openly contending against a defined dogma were entirely in the wrong. "I do not think," said Dr. Döllinger, "that Dr. Newman can be very satisfied with his position. He cannot like the state of things in which he finds himself. It must be difficult for him to reconcile himself to accepting the dogma."

"I believe he is able to accept it by making it mean as

little as possible, and he thinks that you are making a great mistake in contending that it means so much; that it is playing into the hands of the extreme party to maintain that their interpretation is the true one. The true course is to consider that the dogma means very little."

"But the world will never believe that. Future generations will never believe that a dogma of the Church means next to nothing. It will not be right to allow the dogma to pass unchallenged, in the hope that people will understand nothing by it. Things have gone too far for that. But that is the way in which many people in Germany have brought themselves to accept the dogma; and they are not very comfortable in consequence. Bishop Hefele is one of these; and, what is more, he does not believe his own interpretation of the dogma.¹ What will come of it all, it is impossible to say. There is a great disease in the Church; and if you ask a physician what will come of a disease, he will not always be able to tell you. I hope that in this case the malady will be the means of clearing the body of the Church of many evil humours. But I do not look for any great results at present: the struggle will last far beyond my day."

"Dr. Newman thinks that you have been cruelly treated,² and that a nemesis will probably come. Those who did it perhaps had the right to do it; but still cruelty is cruelty. It did not, I believe, come direct from Rome."

"That," said Dr. Dollinger, "was never known with certainty. How far Archbishop Scherr acted on his own responsibility, how far under directions, either definitely

¹ Haneberg was another example. To his discomfiture a private letter of his was published, written since the Council, in which he says: "The doctrine, it must be owned, is a new one. It was not taught in the first eight centuries. On the contrary, the opposite was taught."

This is stated to be the view of the present Pope. It is said that more than once he has informally sent kind messages to Dollinger. "Tell him to come back to us: there is a new Pope." "Yes," said Dollinger; "but the old Papacy."

expressed or otherwise conveyed to him, from Rome, I cannot tell. They succeeded in keeping that point quite secret."

"Dr. Newman says that he does not understand how you can accept the Third Council and yet reject the Council of the Vatican: which means, I suppose, that at Ephesus there was plenty of intrigue and violence, and yet the council is universally accepted as œcumenical."¹

"The cases are not parallel," replied Dr. Döllinger. "It is quite true that Cyril and others behaved badly, and that the proceedings were irregular; but the Council of Ephesus imposed nothing on the Church. It merely condemned the doctrine of Nestorius, which had already been rejected by the majority of Christians. It did not alter the existing state of things one iota; it simply confirmed what already was established. The result would have been the same, if the proceedings had been quite regular: Nestorius would have been condemned. But the Vatican Council has altogether changed things, and has imposed a great deal upon the Church. And had the proceedings been regular, the result would have been altogether different. The numerous bishops who were opposed to the dogma would have been able to make their voices heard, and the dogma would never have been passed."

On another occasion Dr. Döllinger said: "If Newman knew the history of the fifth and sixth centuries, and also modern Church history, better, he would not think it possible that those men whom I am opposing 'can have the right on their side.' I suppose he has not been in the way of studying all the falsifications and frauds of

¹ In connexion with this argument the following passage in Dr. Newman's essay on the "Trials of Theodoret" is of interest. It looks as if it were written with an eye to the Vatican Council. "Cyril had on his side the Pope, the monks, the faithful everywhere, tradition, and the truth; and he had not much tenderness for the scruples of literary men, for the rights of councils, or for episcopal minorities" (*Historical Sketches*, iii., p. 349. Pickering, 1873).

those times. The matter has scarcely been sufficiently investigated and exposed yet, and cannot be studied in books as conveniently as it deserves to be." And again: "It is very strange that a man who has written a history of the Arians should believe in the Pope's infallibility. No one asked a Pope to give an infallible judgment on *that* great question. And it is all very well to say that we must wait until theologians have debated on the dogma and settled exactly what it means and does not mean. The world has quite made up its mind what the dogma means, and acts accordingly. The Pope has condemned certain points in the Austrian constitution: toleration of other religions, free schools, etc.—principles admitted by all governments. The Tyrolese believe this condemnation to be an infallible decision, and consequently that the laws under which they live are in these respects iniquitous. Will it help the Austrian government, or convince the Tyrolese, if a handful of theologians at last decide that this is not an infallible judgment? Fifty Newmans all living at once, and all working to explain and pare down the dogma, would not have any appreciable effect on the practical working of the dogma. I suspect that Dr. Newman would have been a very different man if he had been well read in mediæval history." ¹

Dr. Döllinger handed me a cutting from an English newspaper, and asked me whether I could explain the meaning of it, adding, "There is some friend (or enemy) of mine in England,—and I have no idea who or what he is,—who, whenever there is anything against me in the *Tablet* or the *Weekly Register* or elsewhere, cuts it out and sends it to me." The cutting in question was a review of a pamphlet called *The Westminster Synod*, which seemed to have given a fancy sketch of some future synod, in which one of the

¹ Dean Stanley used to speculate how different things would have been if Newman had read German.

speakers reports that the Old Catholic movement has ended in materialism and atheism ; and this was the cause for which "the unfortunate Döllinger" had suffered so much.

I said that the cutting reminded me of another remark made by Dr. Newman, that Döllinger might end in finding himself united with those who would be far more distasteful to him than ultramontanes.

"Not *united* with them," replied Dr. Döllinger ; "say '*working for the same ends*,' and then what Dr. Newman says will be correct. We and the distasteful people whom he indicates have common objects, but for very different reasons. The same thing happens in England. Roman Catholics find themselves working with ultra-radicals and atheists to overthrow the English Church. Dr. Newman attacks the Church of England ; so do the atheists. The one wishes to clear the ground for his own religion ; the others wish to clear away religion altogether. Just so in Germany : the Old Catholics have some common aims with people who are otherwise distasteful to them."

He went on to say that he did not expect that the Vatican Council, never formally closed, would ever assemble again : nor did he expect that any council could do much at present towards healing the divisions in the Church. He has never looked to a council as the means of uniting Christendom. Very much must first be done in quite other ways. *Theology must become conciliatory instead of polemical ; a means of making peace, not an arsenal from which to draw weapons of war. Christians must learn to make more of the points on which they are agreed, and less of the points on which they differ.* As the education of the clergy and the people progresses, it will become less and less possible for Churches to be divided because of differences about subjects which are so mysterious that no one *can know* anything about them. Much may be done by individuals ignoring differences and joining with members of another communion, so far as that

is possible without sacrifice of principle; and perhaps that is the way in which reunion may come about at last. When we have learnt to think less of our differences, a council may possibly do something; but we are not ready for it yet.

He did not think that the Council of Trent could ever be made a basis of reunion. Some of its decrees were excellent, and many Protestants would readily accept them; but others were of such a character that, either they had to be explained in a sense which was certainly not that of the framers, or else the council as a whole had to be abandoned, because some of its decrees are heterodox. In the decree about transubstantiation, for instance, no definition of "substance" can be given which will not entangle you in a contradiction when you come to contrast it with "species."

"Père Hyacinthe will not be able to do much in Paris. Not only is the ground occupied by politics, but in all the Latin races the population is divided into two great sections: those who go all lengths in one direction and accept everything, however absurd and superstitious; and those who go all lengths in the other, and are practically infidels. Between these two sections there is a deep abyss, which you cannot bridge. Such is the case in France and in Italy; perhaps also in Spain, but we know so little of the real state of religious feeling in Spain. There however, more than in any other country, we find an enormous difference between the town population and the rural. In the villages they are attached very strongly to the old religion, and to the old Spanish monarchy; in the towns they care little about religion, and in them what republicans there may be are to be found."

One evening, as we started for our usual walk, Dr. Döllinger said: "I have had one of the ex-ministers of the Italian government, Minghetti, calling on me this

morning, and he says that neither in Florence nor in Rome is it known whether there is any such bull as is reported to exist respecting the mode of electing the next Pope, dispensing with the usual interval between the death and the election, and directing that the election take place *præsente cadavere* of Pius IX. I told Minghetti that even if such a bull exists, it must rest entirely with the cardinals whether they choose to be bound by it or not. A Pope cannot enforce enactments of that kind after his death, for the cardinals can always fall back on the old regulations. But among the present cardinals it would be impossible to find a man who would be desirable as Pope. They are all such nonentities ; men of no force of character.

"When Lamennais was in Munich after his visit to Rome, I used to walk with him. He told me that one of the cardinals had deplored to him the lamentable state of the Sacred College. 'In most societies,' said this cardinal, 'you will find one or two, or perhaps even three, able men ; but in our college we are *every one of us blockheads!*' When I was in Rome myself, I was there for five weeks. I said to Theiner, who introduced me to the Pope, 'People here seem to be very well acquainted with German affairs : no one asks me any question.' He laughed and said : 'Just the reverse ; they know absolutely nothing.' And they did not want to know.

"They are not likely to go out of Italy for a Pope. Manning is not yet made cardinal. When he was with the late Archbishop of Paris (Darboy), some time before the Vatican Council, he urged him to preach the doctrine of papal infallibility and do all that he could to promote it, hinting that there might be a cardinal's hat for each of them ; 'for it would be a beautiful thing for the two great cities of the West (London and Paris) to have cardinals as archbishops.' He really gave that as a reason. Archbishop Darboy told X., who told it to me.

"I have seen Manning twice—in 1851 and 1858, I think. The first time was soon after he came over to the Church of Rome, and I was favourably impressed by him. He told me that indirectly I had contributed to his conversion. At one time he had thought that it was impossible for a Roman Catholic to treat history fairly and openly, and that a Roman Catholic historian could not be honest. My work on ecclesiastical history had proved to him the contrary, and had removed a great stumblingblock out of his way. The second time X. took me to see him. We both came away with the same impression: that he had utterly changed, and for the worse. He was cold and formal, speaking with evident reserve and weighing his words. Perhaps he had already begun to look upon me with suspicion.

"I read a volume of his sermons once, written while he was still a member of your Church, and I liked them: there was warmth and depth of true religious feeling in them. All that is gone now. There is nothing of it in the things which he has written since he became a Roman Catholic: all his later writings are inferior. I know of only one writer who is quite equal to what he was before his conversion." And both of us together said—"Newman."

"Dr. Newman was once asked by the Pope to edit an English Bible for the use of Roman Catholics. The idea was believed to have been suggested by Cardinal Wiseman, and the object of the proposal was supposed to be this: to give Dr. Newman harmless occupation for the rest of his life, so as to keep his mind, or at any rate his pen, from working in a way that people in high quarters might not like. Apparently Newman saw through it; at any rate the flattering request was declined.

"It originated thus: Cardinal Wiseman once wrote to me (I believe that I have the letter still), claiming the

credit of Newman's conversion : an article in the *Dublin Review* was supposed to have convinced Newman that his position in the English Church was untenable. When the two men came into contact, the enormous intellectual superiority of the convert became manifest to the man who had claimed to have convinced him of his errors. Wiseman never quite got over this ; and the attempt to silence Newman by giving him a lifelong literary task was the result.

"As to the next Pope, not even the cardinals know who he is likely to be. There is no instance on record, ever since the election has been confined to the College of Cardinals, of the next Pope being known as such during the existing Pope's lifetime. The conclave meets without any one knowing what the result will be. Mistrust and suspicion are natural to the Italian character, and are intensified in the case of ecclesiastics in high places. This is fatal to a coalition before the time. The intrigue begins in the conclave. Each cardinal is accompanied by a priest, a *conclavista*, and he is commonly the go-between. A book has been written, but never published, on the duties of a *conclavista*, by one who acted in that capacity several times (Liotti?). For centuries none but an Italian has had even a chance of being elected, and there is no chance for a foreigner now."

One day, in 1872, Dr. Döllinger had a visit from an ambassador in Rome, and during our evening walk he told me some of the news which the ambassador had given him, among other things, that there were signs that the Pope's mind was giving way. I asked him whether there was any instance of a Pope going out of his mind. He replied :

"None whatever. It is reported that Boniface VIII. died in a state of frenzy, tearing the flesh off his own arms with his teeth, at the treatment which he received from Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna at Agnani and from the Orsini

in Rome ; but those who would be most likely to know say nothing about it.

“By the way, Cardinal Wiseman once wrote an apology for Boniface VIII. in the *Dublin Review*, and I have several times been told that he wrote it by *my* advice ; that he had asked me what I thought would be a good point to elucidate in the history of the Papacy, and that I had recommended a defence of Boniface VIII. I cannot remember ever having said anything of the kind. Anyhow the apology was a complete failure. He defended the Pope by the simple expedient of ignoring all that tells against him. And the case against Boniface has become much stronger since the publication of documents which place much of the wickedness with which he is charged quite beyond a doubt. You might defend Alexander VI. by Wiseman’s method ; and, in fact, a Frenchman has done it—quite a worthless book.

“Clement XIV. is also sometimes said to have gone mad. Pius VII., after being tormented into signing what he believed he ought never to have signed by Napoleon, was much stricken in conscience afterwards, and is reported to have exclaimed, ‘I shall go mad, like Clement XIV.’ But Clement never went mad. What *is* true of him is, that he lived in perpetual dread of being poisoned by the Jesuits for suppressing their society, and killed himself at last with antidotes.”¹

ALFRED PLUMMER.

¹ Once or twice in this paper I have combined in one conversation what was said on the same subject on more than one occasion ; but nearly all is from notes taken in 1871 and 1872.

THE LOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF ROM. V. 15-17.

It is not a detailed exegesis of these three verses which I propose to lay before the readers of THE EXPOSITOR. All that I was able to offer in this way has already appeared in my *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. I simply desire to present, more precisely than I have succeeded in doing hitherto, the logical connexion which unites these three verses to each other, and to the whole passage of which they form a part (vers. 12-21).

In the preceding chapters the apostle has laid down as two indisputable historic facts, on the one hand, the state of *condemnation* in which all mankind, Jew and Gentile alike, is found (i. 18 to iii. 20); on the other, the universal *justification* of the same humanity in Christ (iii. 21 to v. 11): "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God: being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." In these two verses, which mark the transition from one of the two sections to the other, we have a summary of both, and consequently of all the earlier portion of the epistle.

Having set forth these two great facts, the state of condemnation in which all are plunged, and the sentence of justification obtained for all by Jesus Christ, the apostle goes on to show (vers. 12-21) that the fact of the salvation of humanity being accomplished by one Man corresponds to the manner of his fall, which also resulted from the action of one man. Humanity has been raised in One, as it fell in one. Universal perdition and universal redemption are thus each bound up in a central personality.

What is the object of the apostle in placing this third passage as a corollary to the two which precede it, and which are thus linked closely together? Is he simply giving himself up to an interesting meditation, to a train

of thought intellectually curious? It often happens that, after having expounded any subject, St. Paul likes to summarise it in a general review, which, to the mind of the reader, is full of rich spiritual enjoyment. Thus in chap. xi. of this same epistle, after having unfolded to the view of his readers the different phases by which the gospel will eventually reach the whole of humanity, first the heathen, as the result of its rejection by the Jews, afterwards the Jews, as the result of its adoption by the heathen, he gives himself up (vers. 32-36) to the contemplation of these ways and judgments of God—a contemplation which bears the same relation to the religious future of humanity as the passage we are now considering bears to its past.

But we should misunderstand the apostle if we were to represent him as writing such passages merely with a view to intellectual gratification. His true object is here, as always, the strengthening of his readers' faith. By showing the analogy of the fact that salvation was consummated in one Man, with the other fact, that the fall was likewise the work of one man, he seeks to remove from evangelical teaching on this subject all that might appear strange to the mind of a Gentile who heard the good news set forth for the first time.

Nay, more; from this general survey each reader was intended to draw for himself a pressing invitation to free himself completely from his union with the diseased stem to which by nature he belonged, and to form, by the free act of faith, a new union with the vigorous and healthy tree planted on earth by the hand of God, and in which each believer has his place already prepared (according to St. Paul's own words in Romans i. 16: "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth").

This great thought of the parallel between the author of the fall and the Author of redemption is developed in

four different sections in chap. v. 12-21. In the first (vers. 12-14) St. Paul states the fact of the universality of sin and death, as resulting from the fall of Adam; in the second (vers. 15-17), with which we are now specially concerned, he shows the points of difference between the two facts which he compares; in the third (vers. 18-21) he completes the comparison; the fourth (vers. 20, 21) describes the part taken by the law as a transition stage between the economy of sin and that of salvation.

In the first section (vers. 12-14) Paul affirms the fact that each man dies in consequence of the sin of Adam, and not as a result of his own sin. If it were otherwise, it is clear that the parallel between Adam, as the source of death, and Jesus, as the source of life, would be utterly destroyed. This is why the opposite idea, widely accepted as it is, must be expressly set aside. Such is the purpose of vers. 13 and 14, which are not in any sense a digression, as at first sight it might appear. They form, on the contrary, a necessary link in the logic of the argument. The apostle further demonstrates the fact, that the death of all men is the consequence of the sin of Adam, and not of their own sins, by pointing out that sin rouses the Divine anger, and provokes, as a result, the death of the sinner, only when it is the conscious and deliberate violation of a positive command. Now no positive command existed between the time of Adam and of Moses, and yet men died during that period. Hence it follows that death reigns in humanity, not because of the sins of individuals, but because of the transgression of the father of the race.

This point being settled, it seems that the apostle need only pass now to the other side of the parallel, and assert, as a pendant to the condemnation of all in Adam, the justification of all in Christ. But, singularly enough, he merely indicates this idea in passing at the end of ver. 14 ("Adam who is a figure of Him that was to come"), to

resume and develop it later on in vers. 18, 19; and he inserts, first of all, the section contained in vers. 15-17 which we are now to consider, and which in its logical bearing, is one of the most difficult—in my opinion *the* most difficult—of all the passages in this epistle.

The following is a translation of it, as exact, it not as literal, as it can be made :

Ver. 15. "But with the gift of grace it is not as with the trespass. For if by the trespass of the one *the many* [all the human race] died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift made by it of the grace of the one Man Jesus Christ, abound unto the many [all the human race].

Ver. 16. "And not as through the deed of one that sinned,¹ so is the gift; for by the act of judgment one sin resulted in condemnation, but by the act of grace many sins² have resulted in justification.

Ver. 17. "For if by one sin³ death reigned by one, much more shall they that receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ."

On reaching ver. 14, as we have said, instead of pointing out the similarity of the case of Adam with that of Jesus Christ, St. Paul points out wherein the difference between the two consists. "But the gift of grace *is not* as the fall" (ver. 15). And also "the gift *came not* as through one who sinned" (ver. 16). What motive can the apostle have had for breaking off in the comparison he had begun, and for turning his readers' attention to the distinction between the two parallel cases?

The apostle appears to suppose that this objection might be made: Even if it is certain that by the sin of Adam death spread over the whole human race, it is not certain that the

¹ We may read also, "by the doing of a single sin."

² Or we might translate, "the sins of many."

³ We may read, "by the sin of one" (cf. ver. 15)

justification provided by Christ was extended equally far; and, further, that as the sin of Adam has been multiplied *ad infinitum* in the sins of his descendants, it is doubtful whether the work of the one Man Jesus Christ, even if it made reparation for that primitive trespass, provided also a justification for the numerous sins freely committed by after generations. We see that the first question has reference to the *extension*, the second to the degree of *intensity* of the two works which are compared. Not until these two points have been explained, can the apostle, without fear of contradiction, conclude in the words of ver. 18, "Ἀρα οὖν ὡς . . . οὕτως καὶ. . . . So then, even as . . . even so also."

For the purpose of settling these two questions, the apostle brings forward a single and unique consideration, which he applies in ver. 15 to the first and in ver. 17 to the second. It is the superiority in power and value of the agencies set in action on the part of Christ, as compared with those set in action on the part of Adam. On the one hand, a single trespass committed by one man, a false step, as the Greek term implies (*παράπτωμα*); on the other, the meeting of two forces, each of which would be powerful enough to counterbalance the effect of Adam's sin, and which, when united, make the salutary effect of the work of Christ much more certain than the deadly effect resulting from the work of Adam.

In ver. 15 the apostle seeks to prove that the justification obtained through Christ could not possibly apply to a *less extensive* domain than the condemnation called forth by the sin of Adam. In the first clause he calls attention to the fact that this condemnation to death has fallen upon *the many* (*οἱ πολλοί*), that is to say, the whole of humanity, as contrasted with the one man who has sinned; in the second clause he places in opposition to that one feeble sin, which

has produced such enormous consequences, the two infinitely more powerful agencies which operate together in the work of Christ: (1) the grace of God, *i.e.* the condescending love of the Creator, who laboured on behalf of His miserable creature and bent down to save him; (2) another grace, resulting from the former, the gift of a being who has become a member of our race, and whose brotherly love has been added to the fatherly love of God, in order to complete the sacrifice necessary for our salvation. What a power exists in these two united loves! Would it not be strange if their influence were not to extend at least *as far* as the influence exerted by so feeble a cause as the sin of Adam, and were not to reach the utmost limits of the region marked out in the first clause as "*the many*" (*οἱ πολλοί*)? A mere thread of water has sufficed to inundate a certain definite space of ground; would not a far fuller current of water be much more certain to submerge the same region? This is the *à fortiori* reasoning of ver. 15.

The expression "*the many*," common to both propositions, indicates an equal extension in both cases. But we must carefully consider the preposition *εἰς*, *towards*, *for*, used in the second clause. It indicates merely an eventual *destination*, and not, as yet, an actual application. The apostle does not mean to say that these "*many*" who die through the sin of Adam have all been really justified by the work of Christ; but that they *may* all be justified by it. The treasure of justification offered by Christ is sufficiently abundant to allow of each individual drawing out of it his own justification; each man has the right to be justified by Him. Not one of those who die in Adam is excluded from the grace, but the individual application of this right depends on the free act of faith (see ver. 17); and this is why the apostle makes use of the preposition *εἰς*, *for*, which marks direction, destination, and not the preposition *ἐπί*, *upon* (added to *εἰς* in iii. 22, to mark individual appropria-

tion, and used alone in the same sense, Phil. iii. 9). For the same reason the words τοὺς πιστεύοντας, *believers*, which we find in iii. 22, are omitted here.

We must further notice in ver. 15 the choice of the verb ἐπερίσσευσεν, *has over-abounded*. There is, as it were, a surplus of salvation in the work of Christ. It was not enough, in order to assure the justification of the *many*, that their condemnation should be simply counterbalanced and revoked; a merely equivalent value of condemnation and grace would have had a purely negative result ($x - x = 0$). There would, in this case, have been no *real* advance, no positive progress. A new beginning would have had to be made between God and men. In order that condemnation should be not merely neutralized by forgiveness, but replaced by a declaration of positive righteousness, an overplus was necessary (as we read in ver. 17, reproducing the idea of ver. 15, "an over-abundance of the gift of righteousness," περισσεία τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης). This is the precise meaning of the verb ἐπερίσσευσεν—a river which has overflowed its banks in the direction of the *many*, in order to reach them. This idea is more fully applied in ver. 17. The first point is settled, and well settled. If the fact proves that the *many* died as the result of the sin of Adam, it is for that very reason impossible to doubt that the work of salvation, due to the twofold grace of God and of the Man Christ Jesus, His ambassador, virtually extended its justifying influence to the *many*, without exception. From our point of view this is a perfectly simple truth; it was not equally apparent to the readers of this epistle, of whom a certain number may have asked themselves whether the redemption accomplished by Christ was of force for all men, or only for a class, such, for instance, as the Jews (cf. Rom. iv. 28-30, where this question is proposed and considered).

There was another point to be considered here. The

work of Christ might have removed the guilt which weighed upon humanity as the result of the sin of its first father, while at the same time it need not necessarily follow that the sinners who descended from him were also justified from the sins which they had each of their own free will committed. As we have pointed out, the disobedience of Adam had been followed, in the course of centuries, by the innumerable multitude of disobedient actions committed by his descendants. Now from the fact that one transgression was enough to draw down condemnation upon many, it does not follow that one righteousness would be enough to justify these many, not only from the one collective transgression which causes them to die, but also from all the personal and voluntary sins which they themselves have added to it. One spark is sufficient to set a forest on fire; but when the forest is all aflame and forms one huge furnace, would a single drop of water be sufficient to extinguish each burning tree, and transform the furnace into a blooming garden? This question, which hangs upon the other, is answered in the 16th and 17th verses. The *kai*, and, with which ver. 16 begins, signifies, "And we must observe that —." The words which follow mean that the gift of justification has not been made, like the judgment of condemnation, with reference to one sinner, Adam, but also with reference to the multitude of sinners who followed. This is what the two propositions which follow in this verse virtually maintain. While one sin resulted in the condemnation of humanity, it is for a multitude of sins that Jesus has obtained the sentence of justification. Ver. 17 serves to prove the truth of this affirmation.

Needless difficulty has been raised with reference to the *for* in ver. 17. It has been maintained that the apostle, far from proving anything new in this verse, is merely repeating what he has twice already said (vers. 15, 16). Another explanation of the *for* is, that the apostle passed over ver.

16 and used this particle with reference to the statement of ver. 15. But an intellect as keenly logical as that of Paul does not commit such blunders.

The basis of the reasoning presented in ver. 17 is this common sense maxim: If a cause produce a certain effect, the opposite cause will produce the contrary effect. The application is this: If the sin of Adam produced death, the righteousness offered in Christ cannot fail to produce life; for if the condemnation result in death, it is clear that the justification ought to cause new life. A second maxim, which results from the first, is this: If the first cause, weak as it is, produced an immense effect, it is certain that the second cause, provided that it contains much more powerful factors than the first, will not fail to produce more important results. In its application the maxim reads thus: If it is certain that the fall of Adam had the important effect of inaugurating the reign of death which weighs upon humanity, it is yet more certain that the work of Christ, in which are united the Divine grace and the gift of righteousness obtained by Jesus, will produce in the case of those who lay themselves open to the action of this more powerful influence a reign of life, which will take the place of the reign of death.

I said, among those who lay themselves open to its influence. St. Paul himself reminds us of this in the words, "those who receive the abundance of the grace and of the gift of righteousness." He here again calls to mind the powerful agencies alluded to in ver. 15. But the principle which acts as an effective cause in the direction of salvation is no longer here merely justification as a right, virtually obtained by Christ for the many (*πολλοί*, ver. 15). The reference here is to that righteousness *accepted by the individual*, and now existing, by the free act of faith, as a life-giving power in the hearts of sinners who believe. It is infinitely more certain that a reign of life will result in

their case from the appropriation of the grace of righteousness which is in Christ, than that a reign of death resulted from the sin of Adam.

And now we are in a position to understand the logical connexion between vers. 16 and 17, and to see how the second of these verses demonstrates the fact affirmed in the first. For, having once admitted that believers shall share in the Divine life, and reign in that life of glory through the work of Christ, as certainly as they died through the work of Adam, we must further admit that they have each individually found in Christ justification from their own sin, for this pardon is the condition of eternal life. How can they be raised and glorified if they have not been justified? This is the meaning of the *for* at the beginning of ver. 17.

And even if it happen that it is only a certain number of the *many* for whom the work of Christ becomes really a principle of justification, and hence of life and glory, the very fact that they obtained this privilege as a free gift (through the abundance of the grace and of the gift of righteousness) proves that the same grace had been obtained in Christ for all (cf. ver. 15), and that all might have appropriated it by the simple act of faith.

And thus, as a result of this twofold demonstration (in ver. 15 of the virtual similarity of extent of the justification obtained in Christ, and in vers. 16 and 17 of the superiority of the effect produced by that justification, as compared with the effect of death produced by Adam), the apostle is able to conclude by resuming in ver. 18 the comparison he had begun in ver. 12, and to declare in triumphant tones, "So then, even as . . . even so."

The unique and singularly bold feature in the apostle's reasoning consists in this, that he makes the very power of the transgression which drew down death upon humanity a proof of the yet more certain power of the gift of grace,

by which we obtain righteousness in Jesus Christ. Here is the summary of his complete argument. The more the extent and power of the reign of death prove the greatness of the condemnation which fell upon a single sin, the more certainly do the extent and power of the reign of life, established in the heart of believers by the twofold grace of God and Christ, prove the fact of justification granted to humanity in Christ, its Lord. Condemnation made manifest by death, justification shining forth in the gift of life—these are the opposite poles of St. Paul's idea in this passage, as in all the earlier portion of this epistle.

F. GODET.

THE LANGUAGE AND METRE OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

A REPLY TO CRITICISM.

I.

IN my inaugural lecture as Professor of Arabic (generously published by the Clarendon Press), I advanced the following theses:

I. That the proverbs of Ben-Sira are preserved in a number of independent sources, of which the most important are the Greek and Syriac versions, after them certain fragmentary revisions contained in the Latin version, certain MSS. of the Greek, and the secondary versions.

II. That there are reasons for believing that these proverbs were in a metre resembling the Arabic metre called *Mutakarib*.

III. That the language which from these various sources Ben-Sira appears to have used was a mixture of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, resembling the language of the treatise *Aboth* de R. Nathan.

IV. That, the date of Ben-Sira being known, the dates of the latest books of the Bible must be far earlier than is ordinarily supposed, if any account is to be given of the difference between Ben-Sira's language and that of, *e.g.*, Koheleth.

This essay has been reviewed by Prof. Driver in the *Oxford Magazine* (Feb. 12th and 19th), Prof. Cheyne in the *Academy* (Feb. 15th), and Dr. Neubauer in the *Guardian* (Feb. 19th); and all reject propositions III. and IV., and all but Prof. Cheyne reject proposition II. It is however satisfactory that no one seems disposed to question proposition I.: some advance therefore has been made since Dr. Hatch's *Studies in Biblical Greek*.

I have little liking for controversy, especially with friends and colleagues, and were nothing but my reputation as a scholar at stake, I should gladly yield the victory to my critics. But the real question at issue seems too momentous to allow of my being guided by courtesy and good taste; the idea that there is left in these verses a testimony to the truth of revelation is too overwhelming to be lightly taken up or lightly thrown down. I feel it my duty therefore to give such answer as I can to the objections; and this I will do by first stating the evidence for my propositions with greater detail than the lecture permitted, and then examining the criticisms. Yet I must add that this answer, so far as I am concerned, closes the controversy; and, being convinced of the truth of my method and deductions, I shall endeavour to continue the work which I have begun, whether it meet with approval or not.

There are two points worth noticing before I proceed.

1. Dr. Neubauer is very magisterial on the subject of Hebrew idiom, but the specimen which he has given of a correct translation of his own, עשר טוב לו אשר לא חטא, contains a decided solecism; for "to him who" in Hebrew is of course לאשר or לאיש אשר, or למי אשר; לו אשר being

impossible in any Semitic language.¹ As therefore the greatest of us are fallible, perhaps Hebrew idiom had best be left out of the question.

2. Dr. Neubauer would have it that the theory that Ben-Sira wrote New Hebrew is not new, all that I have said having been said far better by the lamented Prof. Delitzsch. Undoubtedly Prof. Delitzsch would have been far more competent to restore Ben-Sira than I; but that great Talmudist and theologian, in his notice of Ben-Sira, mainly follows Zunz, and the conclusion of Zunz² is, that, except the few New Hebrew words which he collects, *and except a few Aramaic colourings, which doubtless belong to the later Berichterstätter, all these quotations from Ben-Sira are in pure biblical style.* "Pure biblical style" is, I suppose, the language of the prophets.

The task of collecting the New Hebrew words in these quotations is no very considerable one; that of *verifying* them is perhaps more difficult, and has not hitherto been achieved. Prof. Delitzsch observes that נשן (Niph.) is used by Ben-Sira in the sense of *to be married*; but the *verification* of it in xlii. 9, καὶ συνφρακνῖα μὴποτε μισηθῇ, Hebrew בנרה שמא לא תנשא, has been left to others (שנא, *to hate*, is confused with נשן, *to lift*, in i. 30, and with נשה, *to forget*, in xiii. 10). And it is by *verifying* all these words, and supplementing them with others, that I hope to do some service.

Moreover, if the nature of Ben-Sira's language has been so well understood, how is it that his commentators make so little use of the information? The *evil inclination*, a purely rabbinic development, is mentioned several times

¹ I quote this to show that this article is no fair specimen of Dr. Neubauer's critical power, for he cannot be ignorant of a fact mentioned even in elementary grammars: Ball, p. 128; Gesenius, § 123; Ewald, § 333 a; Harper, § 46. Nor is the usage of the Mishna different; Baba Metsia, § 3, לְמִי שֶׁהִפְקִדוֹן אֵצֶלּוֹ.

² *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 104.

in Ben-Sira; yet Fritzsche translates none of these passages rightly. xxxvii. 3 he makes it the "wicked idea of turning foe from friend"; xxi. 11, "a man's thoughts"; xv. 14, "his reasoning power," etc. And Fritzsche's commentary is still a standard work, and he was employed long after its publication to write the article on Ben-Sira in Schenkl's *Bibel-lexicon*. Nay, Fritzsche does not even know the foundation-stone of the criticism of Ben-Sira, the independence of the Syriac version; nor did the lamented Dr. Hatch know it, to whom Dr. Neubauer, with characteristic fairness, refers me for guidance, as though a guide who had missed the road at starting could be helpful later on. That the criticism of Ben-Sira consists in picking out his consonants from all the sources at our disposal by following clues and cross-clues, and then interpreting them by a metrical canon, I take to be an idea, of which, whether it be new or not, little use has been made.

Fritzsche gives us two specimen translations of chap. xxiv. Neither translator goes outside the Bible (save once) for his words; and some who have translated the whole book rarely venture further. Ben-Zev inserts in his text the long passage quoted from chap. xlii.; does he take the New Hebrew style and language of that passage as a model for the rest of his translation? On the contrary, he sedulously corrects the passage itself into biblical Hebrew, substituting *תַּתְּפֹתָהּ* for *תַּתְּפֹתָהּ*, *פֶּן* for *שָׁמָּה*, *בְּנֵרָה* for *גִּדְלָה*, etc. Doubtless he thought, as Zunz seems to have thought, and as Fritzsche supposed long after them both, that the New Hebrew forms were due to those who quoted Ben-Sira, not to Ben-Sira himself. And this *tacit* assumption has been made by most of those who have worked at Ben-Sira, else we should have heard more of his place in biblical criticism. The true theory, that his language was the vulgar Hebrew of his time, was suggested long before the time of either Zunz or Delitzsch; and to the

early authorities who suggested it I have acknowledged my obligations.

II.

Prof. Driver observes that the restorer of Ben-Sira should take for his basis the quotations in rabbinical literature. These are undoubtedly of use, but only so far as they correspond with the other evidence. Now in these quotations, scanty as they are, we find many words peculiar to the rabbinic dialect, such as עסק, of which the biblical Hebrew is דבר or חפץ; הרשה, of which the biblical Hebrew is השליט; נכנס, of which the biblical Hebrew is בא; וכות, an idea which belongs to the post-biblical theology; and דור, of which the biblical Hebrew is ישב or שכן.

Few as these words are, they are quite sufficient to distinguish the period of Ben-Sira from that of any biblical writer. For the first three are words of constant occurrence in the rabbinic writings, and have, as we have seen, equivalents of equally frequent occurrence in the biblical writings. These *common* and *familiar* words must, by their absence or presence, mark periods, if any words can; and the same is the case with the greater number of those collected in the following section.

In the case of Ecclesiastes (or Koheleth), that their absence is significant of *period*, can be proved by as cogent evidence as it is possible in such matters to adduce. For there is a Targum to Koheleth, written unquestionably many generations after the original, in which both the words and ideas of Koheleth are translated into those of the Targumist's time. Now this Targumist employs in dealing with the matter of Koheleth the very technicalities of which Koheleth is ignorant, but with which Ben-Sira is familiar. Koheleth knows nothing of *the evil inclination*, of *the third tongue*, of *obscenity of speech*, of *merits*, of *repentance*; but his translator finds occasion to bring them all in.

And his translator employs in his Chaldee, as synonyms for Koheleth's Hebrew, the very Chaldaisms which the next section will trace in Ben-Sira. If the "method of difference" is ever applicable to critical questions, this would seem to be a case for it. The Targumist of Koheleth is beyond question later than Koheleth,—later, probably, by ages; the technicalities and phrases which he introduces into his paraphrase in order to make Koheleth intelligible must be those of a later age, else why should Koheleth not have employed them himself? Many of these technicalities are found to recur in Ben-Sira as often as they recur in the Targum of Koheleth; and yet we are told that Koheleth and Ben-Sira are contemporaries!

But the date of Daniel is, after all, more important than that of Koheleth; and here the evidence is yet more forcible. The date of Daniel is fixed by modern scholars at 165 B.C., and Ewald, as is well known, finds an allusion in Daniel to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. Ben-Sira certainly wrote no later than 165, and probably a generation earlier; and he now rises from his grave to state that the languages which are distinct in Daniel are in his time mixed. With Daniel דור is Chaldee, but ישב Hebrew; with Ben-Sira the former is Hebrew.¹ With Daniel יכרת is Chaldee and צדקה Hebrew; in Ben-Sira's language the two may be used indiscriminately. With Daniel עת is Hebrew, and עון Chaldee; Ben-Sira uses the two in the same verse—

אל תמנע תושיה בעתה ואל תסתר חכמה בעדנה

Nay, more, the Chaldee of Ben-Sira is later than Daniel's, for there are three (and perhaps yet more) indications that *very* with Ben-Sira is לחרא, but with Daniel it is שניא. If therefore language can prove anything, it proves that Daniel was not written in 165; and Ben-Sira, who has hitherto been supposed to be the worst witness against

¹ As it is with R. Akiba, *Aboth de R. N.*, p. 71b. אל תדור בין הננים.

Daniel will, if rightly cross-examined, be found to bear irrefragable witness in his favour. The person who conducts this cross-examination aright will have performed a useful service.

I will, in the following section, give a list of fifty phrases occurring in Ben-Sira, but unknown, or almost unknown, to the biblical dialect. This will not exhaust the stock, but if it is not sufficient to prove our thesis, what number will be?

III.

1. עסק or עשק, *business*.

This word occurs once (in Gen. xxvi. 20) in the sense of *strife*; otherwise it is unknown to the Hebrew of the Bible. In Chaldee and rabbinic Hebrew it is one of the commonest words, corresponding, as Buxtorf well says, with the Hebrew דבר, and particularly with the Middle Hebrew ענין or חפץ. Ben-Sira is recorded to have used this word in a verse quoted in Midrash Rabba and elsewhere,

וְאִין לך עֶסֶק בְּנִסְתָּרוֹת.

which the Greek represents by οὐκ ἔστι χρεία, the Syriac by "confidence." There are however many more traces of this word, which the Syriac translator regularly mistakes for עשק, "oppression," of which טלומיא is a common rendering in the Peschitto; see, e.g., Psalm lxii. 4.

xxxvii. 11: οἰκέτης ἀργῶ περὶ πολλῆς ἐργασίας:

Syr.: עֶבְרָא דְּבַעָא לְמַטְלָם לְמַרְוּחִי, *with a servant who desires to rob his master*.¹

vii. 25: ἔση τετελεκῶς ἔργον μέγα;

Syr.: גְּפוּק עֶשְׂוִיקָא, *there shall go out oppression*.

xi. 9: ἐν κρίσει ἀμαρτωλῶν μὴ συνέδρευε:

Syr.: לֹא תַסְגָּא טְלוּמִיָּא, *do not multiply oppression*.

¹ רב of the Hebrew is here interpreted *master*. Its Greek gloss in this sense is δυνάστης; e.g. xvi. 11, δυνάστης ἐξίλασμων for רב סליחות.

iii. 23 : μὴ περιεργάζου :

Syr. : לא תתעסק, *do not wrangle*.

In all these places the versions will be reconciled, and the meaning be made clear, by restoring the rabbinic עשק התעשק.

עם עבד עצל על לב עשק
הוצא בת ותצא עשק רב
ברייב רשעים אל תתעשק
ביתר מעשיו אל תתעשק

A further trace of this word is to be found in xxxviii. 24 :
ὁ ελασσοῦμενος τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ σοφισθήσεται.

הממעט בעסק יתחכם

Compare *Derech Erets* ed. Tawrogi, p. 13a ; *Aboth*, p. 72b ;
and *Pirke Aboth*, § 4, הוי ממעט בעסק.

Yet another vestige seems to be in xxix. 27 :

ἐπεξένωταί μοι ὁ ἀδελφὸς, χρεία τῆς οἰκίας :

Syr. : ארחא גיר ערץ עלי, omitting the rest.

Heb. : הוקד האח עשק בבית

The verse meant, *Light the fire, bestir yourself in the house*. The second half is omitted by the Syriac, and this has happened elsewhere in verses containing עשק. In the first half of the verse the Greek reading was הוקרה אחי, the Syriac הוקרה ארח. The Syriac ערץ corresponds in meaning with the Old Hebrew קרה ; the Greek translator interprets from the Arabic קרי, "to entertain" (an old word, it would seem ; see Ferazdak, p. 12).—No word is more characteristic than this of the rabbinic style. The Targum of Koheleth has occasion to use it before the end of the third verse ; *Aboth* de R. Nathan on the first page : strange that Koheleth, who deals so much with *business* and *occupation*, avoids this word and all its derivatives !

2. שיחה and סיחה.

This is also a rabbinic word, of very frequent occurrence

(see *Pirke Aboth*, § 1), signifying *conversation*. The form with **ו** does not occur in the Bible; that with **ש** occurs, but in the sense of *meditation*.

In Ben-Sira we have the rabbinic form in xxvii. 4 :

οὕτως σκύβαλα ἀνθρώπου ἐν λογισμῷ αὐτοῦ :

Syr. : שועיתא דאנשא על חושבנה, *So the talk of a man on his thought* ;

Heb. : כן סיחת אדם מרעיונו, *So the talk of a man from his mind*.

The previous hemistich is corrupt, but can be emended. The Greek reading was סוחת, "refuse," "dung." Where the word is not corrupted, its ordinary gloss is λαλιά; xiii. 11, ἐκ πολλῆς λαλιᾶς πειράσει σε, the Hebrew of which is preserved in *Aboth*, p. 68a, בודקין האדם ברב שיחה, so that we may restore כי מרב שיחה יברקך (compare xxxii. 14, ἐκχέη λαλίαν, borrowed from Ps. cii. 1).

xx. 5 : ἔστι μισητὸς ἀπὸ πολλῆς λαλιᾶς.

xxii. 13 : μὴ πληθύνῃς λόγον = תרב שיחה אל of *Pirke Aboth*, § 1.

3. יצר, the evil inclination.

It is well known that this, in its personification, is a rabbinical development; in *Koheleth* there is no allusion to it, though the Targum of *Koheleth* finds occasion to mention it (vii. 9). In Ben-Sira however it plays an important part. The word is used in its biblical sense in the addition made by codd. 106 and 248 to xvii. 20 : εἰδὼς τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ, ידע יצרו; elsewhere however it is employed in its technical sense.

xxxvii. 3 : ὃ πονηρὸν ἐνθύμημα, πόθεν ἐνεκυλίσθης ;

Syr. : סנא וביש למנא אתבריו.

Emend ἐκτίσθης from Syriac and Latin, and restore יצר *Emend ἐκτίσθης* from Syriac and Latin, and restore יצר *O evil inclination, wherefore wast thou created?* That סנא and ἐχθρός stand for יצר has been observed previously. Another proof passage is :

xvi. 28: ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔθλιψε;

Syr.: אחד לא סנין; Heb.: איש לרעהו לא צרו.

In xxi. 11 we have a similar rendering ἐννόημα:

ὁ φύλασσω νόμον κατακρατεῖ τοῦ ἐννοήματος αὐτοῦ:

Syr.: אלץ יצרה:

Heb.: שמר תורה יכבש את יצרו:

wherein יצרו את כבש is a double rabbinism (*Aboth*, p. 72b), recurring in the Syriac of xvii. 31.

Another rendering of this word is διαβούλιον, as we learn from xvii. 6:

διαβούλιον καὶ γλώσσαν καὶ ὀφθαλμούς;

Syr.: וברא להון פומא וש;

Heb.: יצר פה לשון ועינים,

where יצר should be rendered *he created*. The word however stands in its place in xv. 14: καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ; Syr., יצרהון.

Another translation is probably βουλή, in vi. 2; but this verse is corrupt. Perhaps too in xxx. 21, μὴ θλίψης σαντὸν ἐν βουλή σου, is for ותצר בתצרך. The psychology no less than the word-play suggests this.

4. יסורים, *afflictions*.

This word belongs to the genuine rabbinic language. It occurs in a verse of which the true reading is preserved in MS. 253 (ii. 5), ἐν νόσοις καὶ παιδείαις ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθὼς γίνου. There is however an allusion to it in xxx. 14, μεμαστιγμένους εἰς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ; with which compare *Aboth*, p. 82a, כל שיסורים משלים בגופו: yet the original of this phrase is almost certainly ליקה בגופו, *Aboth*, p. 72b; לקה is an equally genuine rabbinism. It is likely that יסוריך is the original of τὰ κρυπτὰ σου, Syr., *thy bonds* (סודך and אסוריך), in i. 30. For a quiescent N omitted compare xlviii. 12, ἐν λαίλαπι; Syr., *in the store*; Heb., בסופה.

5. התקן, *to persist*.

This word is nowhere used in the Bible, but is a

favourite word in Chaldee. In i. 15, *μετὰ ἀνθρώπων θεμέλιον αἰῶνος ἐνόσσευσε*, is unintelligible; for this the Syriac has *אתתקנת*. Clearly therefore the word *התקנה* was used, connected by the Greek translators with *קן*. The Coptic translator, who renders *αὐκμαίνετε* (comp. xl. 25), must have followed a revised text, which rendered the word as if it had been *התקנה*. This usage of *תתקן* for "to be permanent," is very common in the Targum; the antithesis, *ἐμπιστευθήσεται*, renders the restoration certain.

6. *קן*, grateful.

Buxtorf notices a rabbinic usage of *קן* in the sense of "grateful," "pleasant." This occurs in Ben-Sira vii. 33 : *χάρης δόματος ἐναντι παντὸς ζῶντος*; Syriac, *חסדא הי גיר*; Hebrew, *קן מתן לפני כל חיים*, מדהבתא.

7. שִׂמָּח, perhaps.

Quoted from Ben-Sira. The Greek gloss of this is *μήποτε*. xix. 13 : *ἔλεγχον φίλον, μήποτε οὐκ ἐπολήσεν*; הוכח; *רַע שִׂמָּח לא עשה*, etc.

8. לשון שלשית, the third tongue.

See xxviii. 14, 15.

9. הרשה, to give leave.

This occurs in a verse cited in Midrash Rabba and elsewhere

במה שהרשית התבון

=iii. 22, *ἡ προσετάγη σοι*; Syriac, *דאשלטוך*. There are however other traces of this characteristically rabbinic word : xxiii. 2, *οὐ μὴ παρή*; Syriac, *לא נארתן*; Hebrew, *לא ירשו*.

10. סמים, drugs.

This word is quoted from Ben-Sira xxxviii. 4. In Old Hebrew it is only used of scents; but in rabbinic of the stock-in-trade of the physician (*Aboth*, p. 76a).

11. נכנס, *to enter*.

Quoted from Ben-Sira; its *locus* is xi. 8: ἐν μέσφ λόγων μὴ παρεμβάλλου; Hebrew, בתוך דברים אל תכנס (comp. *Aboth*, p. 110a: (אינו נכנס לתוך דברי חברו). It is very probable that throughout Ben-Sira συναγειν is the gloss for כנס, and συναγωγή for כנסת. xlvi. 12, ἐν λαίλαπι ἐσκεπάσθη; Syriac, אתכנש; Hebrew, נכנס read נסך.

12. הרגל, *accustom*; רגילות, *custom*.

Quoted from Ben-Sira xxiii. 15; see also *Inaug.*, p. 15. A trace of it is in the gloss ψεύματος before ἀπαιδευσίας in certain MSS. of iv. 25: "obscene speech" is not a *lie* (דגליות), but is a *habit*.

13. דור, *to dwell*; דיר, מדור, *dwelling*.

Quoted from Ben-Sira in Baba Bathra, חתן הדר בבית חמי. Although this passage does not occur in our copies, other traces of the word are to be found: xli. 5, παροιکیαις ἀσεβῶν; Syriac, דחמיתא, תולדתא, *generation of sinners*, i.e. דור wrongly read דיר. The word however really occurs in xlv. 6: εἰρηνεύοντες ἐν ταῖς παροιکیαις αὐτῶν; Syriac, תוקנהין, thinking of the Talmudic דיר, "to order." Another trace of it is in xvi. 8: περὶ τῆς παροιکیας Λώτ; Syriac, on the dwellers of the city of Lot; Hebrew, הדור הליט, *the accursed generation*: so that, if we lose one Chaldaism, we gain another equally violent.

14. אסיף or הסיף, *to end*.

Quoted from Ben-Sira in a Baraitha to Mass. Kallah, but in a corrupt form: זכור את יום אסיפתך ואסוף חרפה. This is a reminiscence of xxviii. 6, μνήσθητι τὰ ἔσχατα, καὶ παῦσαι ἔχθρας (so read with Syriac, Hexaplar-Syriac, and Armenian). Hebrew, זכור לאסיפה ואסיף איבה. אסיפה for *death* occurs in xvi. 30, where it is rendered ἡ ἀποστροφή αὐτῶν; Syriac, קפס, *he gathered*. A further trace of אסיף is xlii. 17, οὐκ

ἐνεποίησε τοῖς ἁγίοις Κύριος ἐκδιηγῆσασθαι πάντα τὰ θανάμωσια αὐτοῦ; Syriac, לֹא נִפּוֹן, *they shall not finish*; Hebrew, לֹא יִסְפוּ; for ἐμποιεῖν means *to add*: xxxix. 11, ἐὰν ἀναπαύσῃται ἐμποιεῖ αὐτῷ, with variant ἐὰν παύσῃται, perhaps יוֹסֵף יוֹסֵף וְאִם יִסְפֶּה. The same word probably occurred in xviii. 5, τίς προσθήσει ἐκδιηγῆσασθαι τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ;—where *who shall finish?* is required. The Syriac of xlvii. 4 renders וְאִם by the same word as is used in xxviii. 6. Compare *Pirke Aboth*, § 1, דְּלֹא מוֹסִיף יוֹסֵף.

15. זכות, *merits*.

Quoted from Ben-Sira *l.c.* Its Greek gloss is ἐλεημοσύνη. xvii. 22: ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς ὡς σφραγὶς μετ' αὐτοῦ:

Syr.: זכותא דכלהון בנינשא חתימא:

Heb.: זכות איש חתומה.

The word is used in the Targums as a rendering of צדקה, and hence its Greek gloss here. Its occurrence in the rabbinic literature is also very constant.

16. נמרים, *coals*.

viii. 10, μὴ ἔκκαie ἀνθρακας ἀμαρτωλοῦ:

Syr.: לֹא תהוּא שותפא לרשיעא נמירא, *be not the associate of the perfectly wicked*.

Whether the verse ended נְמִירֵי הָרָשָׁע or גְּמִירֵי הָרָשָׁע, in either case it will contain a violent Chaldaism. The first half was read אֵל תַּחַר by the Syriac, אֵל תַּחַר by the Greek translator; תַּחַר is glossed תַּתִּיחַד in the Midrash Tanchuma; להטים *blazing*, of the Psalms, is rendered חִירִין (from חָרַר) in the Targum. This observation will explain.

xi. 7, πρὶν ἐξετάσης μὴ μέμψῃ:

Syr.: before thou examines become not associate:

Heb.: טָרַם תִּשְׁאֵל אֵל תַּחַר (תַּחַד).

The Pacl of שֶׁאֵל ("to examine" in Syriac) is certified by the metre, but also by xi. 28, πρὸ τελευτῆς μὴ μακάριζε μηδένα; Syriac, before examining praise no one; Hebrew, לפני שֶׁאֵל אֵל תֹּאשֶׁר אִישׁ.

17. שִׁכַּח, to find.

This Chaldaism appears in a *v.l.* of MS. 106, in vi. 16, οἱ φοβούμενοι Κύριον εὐρήσουσιν αὐτόν. MS. 106, αἰνέσουσιν αὐτόν. If Ben-Sira wrote שִׁכַּח, the difference may be easily explained, but never from מִצָּח. A further vestige of this word is xx. 9, ἔστιν εὖρεμα εἰς ἐλάττωσιν. Syriac, אִית שׁוּיעָתָא דְּלַחוּסְרָנָה. If Ben-Sira wrote שִׁכַּח, the Syriac reading is explicable by the omission of the כ, but not if he wrote מִצָּיָח (which, itself, is a New Hebrew word). In xiii. 26, for εὑρεσις παραβολῶν the Syriac has סוֹנָס דְּשׁוּיעָתָא again. παραβολῶν is a gloss; the sense required is *the darkening of the countenance*: Hebrew חֲשִׁיכָתָן; Greek reading, שִׁיחָתָן; Syriac, שִׁיחָתָן.

18. לַחְדָּא = σφόδρα.

The Hebrew לַחְדָּא is represented in the Targum by לַחְדָּא. There are words corresponding with σφόδρα in the Syriac of Ben-Sira which make it likely that he used this Chaldee form.

i. 8: εἰς ἔστι σοφὸς φοβερὸς σφόδρα:

Syr.: דַּחִיל בְּלַחוּדוּדָי.

xi. 6: ἡτιμιάσθησαν σφόδρα:

Syr.: אַצְשַׁעְרוּ אַכְחָדָא.

xxxix. 16: τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου καλὰ σφόδρα:

Syr.: יֵאֵין אַכְחָדָא.

The Chaldee לַחְדָּא, but not the Hebrew לַחְדָּא, will explain these translations; and the *metre* will explain why the author prefers the Chaldee form. For that he used לַחְדָּא in vii. 17 (where the Syriac renders it rightly by ܬܒ) is evinced by a quotation of this verse (under a false name) in *Aboth*, p. 74b. לַחְדָּא seems transliterated from the original in the Syriac i. 29, where it would seem to be interpolated from xiii. 13, where it is strangely omitted.

19. סכנה, danger.

This emerges in iii. 25, ὁ ἀγαπῶν κίνδυνον, Syr., *he that*

loveth good things. סכנור in Old Heb. would mean "good things." xxxi. 10, ὁ πεπλανημένος, Syr. דכשר, is perhaps to be explained similarly. With xxxi. 12, ἕως θανάτου ἐκινδύνευσα, compare Targum of Psalm xviii. 5, מסכנא לממת.

20. גרוד, *a bachelor.*

xxxvi. 26, τίς πιστεύσει εὐζώνῳ ληστῇ; Syr. גרודא דדמא לטביא. Now this word εὐζωνος is used in Gen. xlix. 19 (Aq.) to represent גרוד (which there means something quite different), and ληστής is used to represent it, Jer. xviii. 22 and Hos. vii. 1. This word, of which the Syriac sense is very suitable in the present case, is therefore trebly certified.

21. חייבים, *sinner.*

Greek gloss ἐπιτίμια.

viii. 5, μνησθητι ὅτι πάντες ἐσμὲν ἐν ἐπιτιμίοις :

Syr. : כלן חטיין. Æth. similarly.

Heb. : זכור כי כלנו חייבים.

ix. 5: μήποτε σκανδαλισθῆς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις αὐτῆς :

Heb. : שמא תכשל בחיבתה (so Æth.), lest thou fall in love with her. This is no less a Chaldaism than the former.

22. רנה, *occupation.*

xxxviii. 34, ἡ δέσις αὐτῶν ἐν ἐργασίᾳ τέχνης; Syr., ורניהון בעבדא דאומנותהון; רנתם in Old Hebrew would mean *their prayer* (2 Chron. vi. 19); but in the Targum it means *their meditation, occupation*, and this is its sense here. The whole verse was probably

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each word being a Chaldaism.

23. מצוה or צדקה, *alms.*

The former word has this sense in the Jerusalem dialect; and regularly in Æthiopic, in which language a denominative תמציות, "to give alms," is formed, corresponding with the Arabic תצدق. One of these words is used in its technical sense in vii. 10, καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην ποιῆσαι μὴ

παρίδης, Syr. (a) לא תשתחור וכן ודקתא לא תשתחור, (b) לא תשתחור למעבד פוקדנא. Whether the author wrote עשות מצוה or עבד צדקה, either is a technicality of the New Hebrew dialect. Compare xxix. 11: *κατ' ἐντολὰς ὑψίστου*; Syr. בודיקותא ובחובא. חובא for *ὑψίστου* represents another New Hebrew רחמן, a name for God.

24. צלה, *to pray, or turn.*

The Book of Daniel very properly distinguishes between צלה the Chaldee, and התפלל the Hebrew, for this idea; nor is the former used in any Hebrew document. Yet there is evidence that Ben-Sira employs צלה.

li. 16, *ἐκλίνα ὀλίγον τὸ οὖς μου*; Syriac, וצלית צלותה כד, וצור אנא, *I prayed the prayer thereof when I was young* (perhaps read לותה); Heb., צליתי ועיר ואקבל, *my ear is a gloss*. Any one who will look up this word in Buxtorf's *Lex. Talm.* will see whence it comes.

xvii. 25, *δείθητι κατὰ πρόσωπον* would seem to stand for צלה, *turn forward*; and xxvi. 5, *ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ προσώπῳ εἰδείθηεν*, is perhaps צליתי פני, *I turned away my face*.

25. טיבות, *grace, goodness.*

Wherever in the Syriac טיבות corresponds with *ἀγαθά*, "goods," in the Greek, and "grace" makes better sense than "goods," it will be safe to assume that Ben-Sira wrote טיבות, and that his translator misread it טובות.

xx. 16, *οὐκ ἔστι χάρις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μου*; Syr. לטיבותי, *there are no thanks for my favours* is the sense required.

xxix. 17, *ἀγαθὰ ἐγγύου*; Syr. טיבות; the meaning is *the favour of a surety*, and it is the equivalent of *χάριτας ἐγγύου* of the preceding verse, with which the Syriac has confused it.

xviii. 15, *τέκνον ἐν ἀγαθοῖς*, for *when thou doest a favour*.

xii. 1, *ἔσται χάρις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σου*; Syr. לטיבותך. The meaning is, *there will be thanks for thy favour*.

xii. 3. See *Inaug.*, p. 13.

xvii. 22, *χάριν* = *good works*. Cp. xlv. 26. It is noticeable

that the introduction of this word frequently restores the metre.

26. *השתרה, שרה, to take up one's abode.*

xxiv. 8, *καὶ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ κατακληρονομήθητι*; Syr. *ואשתררי*, and be confirmed.

xxiv. 10, *καὶ οὕτως ἐν Σιών ἐστήριχθην*; Syr. *קמת*, I stood.

xxiv. 6, *ἐν παντὶ λαῶ καὶ ἔθναι ἐκτησάμην*; Syr. *אשתלמט*; Lat. *primatum habui*.

xxiv. 11, *καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐξουσία μου*. All these (and further *ἐλειτούργησα* of ver. 10) would seem to be attempts at rendering *שריתי* and *השתריתי*, I took up my abode, and I was deposited. *ἐκτησάμην* = *ירשתי*, *primatum habui* *שרותי*, *השתרתי* *השתרותי*, *ἐστήριχθην* *השתרותי*, from *שרר*.

27. *ען, time.*

This is a pure Chaldaism, yet it seems plainly to occur in iv. 23 b, *μὴ κρύψῃς τὴν σοφίαν σου εἰς καλλονήν*. The first clause has *ἐν καιρῷ*; *εἰς καλλονήν* therefore is for *בערנה*, which should be rendered *in its time*. Cp. *Inaug.*, p. 19.

28. *קם, to swear.*

xliv. 21, *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὄρκῳ ἔστησεν αὐτῷ*; Syr. *he swore to him*, *ימא*; = Chaldee *קם*, which in the Targum is quite regular in this sense. Ver. 22, *καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσαὰκ ἔστησεν οὕτως*. xlv. 24, *ἐστάθη διαθήκη*; Syr. *God swore with oaths*.

29. *טענה, accusation.*

xxxviii. 17, *καὶ ποιήσον τὸ πένθος κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν μίαν καὶ δύο χάριν διαβολῆς*; Syr. *on account of men*. The full phrase is *מפני טענת הבריות*, *Aboth*, p. 7 a. The Greek translator has given us one half, the Syrian the other.

30. *פקדן, a commandment.*

In xxxix. 18, *ὃς ἐλαττώσει τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ*, the context requires *his commandment* rather than *his salvation*; the Syriac has *פיקדנ*; it is likely that this was what Ben-Sira

wrote, the Greek rendering representing פורקנו. Either of these words is a Chaldaism.

31. חור, *to go round.*

xxxvi. 5, στρεφόμενος is represented in the Syriac by a *pig*, חור. Bendtsen, who commenced these studies, observed the true account of this.

32. בסר, *to despise.*

xix. 1, ὁ ἐξουθενῶν τὰ ὀλίγα; Syr. *whoso loves flesh.* Of this one word בסר seems certain.

33. עברה, *transgression.*

i. 20. φόβος Κυρίου ἀπωθεῖται ἁμαρτήματα, παραμένων δὲ ἀποστρέψει πᾶσαν ὀργήν. Ὀργή is the gloss of עברה very frequently, and the antithesis requires here a synonym of *sin*. עברה should therefore here be rendered *transgression*. This must also be the original of ὑβρεις τῶν ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ ἁμαρτωλῶν of xxiii. 2, probably a very technical rabbinism. ὑβρις is the gloss of עברה in xxi. 4, as is shown by the Syriac rendering *evening*, i.e. ערב.

34. הלכה, *an enactment.*

i. 4, πηγὴ σοφίας λόγος θεοῦ ἐν ὑψίστοις καὶ αἱ πορεῖαι αὐτῆς ἐντολαὶ αἰώνιοι; Heb. הלכותיה מצות עלם, i.e. *and her halachas are wise commandments.*

35. כן, *then.*

A clue is given to this word in xvi. 10, καὶ οὕτως, Syr. *in that time.* Compare xxxv. 5, καὶ οὕτως ἀνάπεσε, Syr. *and afterwards*; xxxvi. 4, οὕτως with various reading τότε. ὁμοίως in xxiv. 11, ἐν πόλει ἡγαπημένη ὁμοίως με κατέπαυσε, is perhaps for בעיר דוד כן הניחני.

36. בנר, *ἀκμάζειν.*

Quoted from Ben-Sira. Its *locus* is xlii. 9, ἐν νεότητι αὐτῆς μήποτε παρακμάσῃ; Heb. בקטנותה שמא לא תבנר. In the next clause, συναγκυῖα, it is corrupted to גברה, which the translator makes equivalent to בעלה.

37. שׁוּב, *to repent*; תְּשׁוּבָה, *repentance*.

xvii. 24, πλὴν μετανοοῦσιν ἔδωκεν ἐπάνοδον; Syr. *repentance*; Heb. בָּרַם לְשׁוּבָה נָתַן תְּשׁוּבָה. xxx. 19, μεταμεληθεὶς; Syr. תְּהִפּוּךְ; Heb. תְּשׁוּבָה. It is not unlikely that the adverbial שׁוּב was sometimes used, of which we have a trace in xxxvi. 1, καὶ πάλιν ἐξελεῖται; Heb. יָשׁוּב יִנְצַל, read רְשׁוּב.

38. שָׂטָה, *fool*.

xvi. 23, ἀνὴρ ἄφρων καὶ πλανώμενος. The same confusion is to be found in xlii. 10, παραβῆ; Syr. תִּשְׁטָא בְּמִדְעָה and תִּשְׁטָא אַחֲרָנָא; Heb. וְתֵאזֵל בְּתֵר נִבְרָא אַחֲרָנָא and תִּשְׁטָא. This would seem to be the true explanation of the variety μωρός and μοιχός in xxv. 2.

39. מִנִּין, *a number*; כֵּן, *a vessel*.

xxxviii. 29, ἐναρίθμιος πᾶσα ἡ ἐργασία αὐτοῦ; Syr. בְּמִנִּי. כל עֲבֹדָה; Heb. בְּמִנִּין or כְּמִנִּין. It is not clear that Ben-Sira uses כְּלִי; in xii. 5, ἐμπόδιον τοὺς ἄρτους σου; Syr. thy weapons of war; Heb. כְּלִי לַחֲמֶךְ; the Greek is right.

40. נָבֹל פֶּה and נִבֵּל.

Inaug., p. 15. We learn from a quotation that in xxiii. 15 λόγοις ὀνειδισμοῦ stands for דְּבָרֵי עֲרוּהָ, another rabbinism.

41. כָּפֶן, *hunger*.

xxxix. 29, πῦρ καὶ χάλαζα καὶ λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος;

Syr.: נֹרָא וּבִרְדָּא וּכְאִפָּא דְּמוֹתָא, *and stones of death* for כָּפֶין;
Heb.: אֵשׁ וּבִרְדָּא וּכְפֶן וּמוֹת.

42. מָרַע and מְרֵעוֹת, *sickness*.

xxxiv. 22, πᾶν ἀρρώστημα οὐ μὴ σοι ἀπαντήσῃ; Syr. כָּל וְכָל לֹא תִתְקַרֵּב לָךְ, *no evil shall come near thee*; Heb. מָרַע לֹא יִקְרָא (the same variation between קָרָא and קָרַב occurs in i. 30 and xiii. 9); x. 10, ἀρρώστημα, Syr. *entrails*, מְרֵעוֹת and מָרַע; xxxiv. 2, ἀρρώστημα βαρύ, *heavy*; but the meaning is, *from the pursuit of honour*, מְרֵעוֹת כְּבֹד;

in this passage, עָרוֹת, *sleeplessness*, is confused with רעות more than once.

43. צָרָךְ, *need and use*.

Quoted from Ben-Sira: *locus* xxxviii. 1; but also vi. 10, ἡμέρα θλίψεώς σου is probably for יוֹם צָרָךְ, *the day of need*.

44. נָמַל הַסְדִּים, *to confer benefits*.

A rabbinic expression, see Buxtorf and Jellinek, B.M. iii. 123; xxxii. 2, ἀνταποδιδούς χάριν προσφέρων σεμίδαλιν; Syr. *he confers obligations who offers an offering*; Heb. נָמַל הַסְדִּים מְבִיא מְנַחָה.

45. הִדְרִיךְ, *to overtake*.

xv. 1, ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ νόμου καταλήψεται αὐτήν; Syr. נָהַלְךְ בָּה; Heb. יִדְרֹכְנָה. xv. 7, οὐ μὴ καταλήφονται αὐτήν ἄνδρες ἀσύνετοι, לֹא יִדְרֹכּוּ בָּה חֲשִׁים; Heb. לֹא יִדְרֹכּוּ.

46. מַלֵּךְ, *to counsel or to promise*.

iii. 24 (in several MSS. and versions), γνώσεως δὲ ἄμοιρος ὢν μὴ ἐπαγγέλλου; מֵא דְנָהַר אַנְת מִן יַדְעָתָא לֹא תְהוּא מַלֵּךְ; Heb. אַל תַּמְלִךְ, *give not counsel*, which the Syriac gloss לִמְפָסְטו expresses. In xxiii. 2, τὰς δὲ ὑβρεῖς τῶν ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ perhaps stands for ἐν ἐργῇ, *in work*, i.e. sins of commission. מַלְכָּה is found (instead of מַלְאָכָה) in ix. 17, ἔργον ἐπαινεθήσεται; Syr. תַּתְקִן מְדִינָתָא; Heb. תִּשְׁרַם מַלְכָּה; and also in xxx. 28, εἰς ἔργα κατὰσκησον; Syr. *give him command*.

47. דִּשְׁנָה, *to make ugly*; שִׁנְיָ, *obscene*.

xii. 18, ἀλλοιώσει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ; Syr. וְסִנְנָא אַפְוּדָי (contrast xiii. 25); the sense required is, *to make an ugly gesture*; Heb. יִשְׁנֶה פָּנָיו (compare Eccles. viii. 1). The confusion between שִׁנְיָ, *to hate*, and שִׁנָּה, *to repeat*, is not unknown in Ben-Sira; xix. 5, ὁ μισῶν λαλιάν; Syr. דְּתַנָּא מַלְתָּא; Heb. שִׁנְיָה שִׁיחָה; xix. 9; cp. vii. 14, μὴ δευτερώσης λόγον; Syr. לֹא תִשְׁחַלֵּף; Heb. אַל תִּשְׁנֶה. Hence it

is not unlikely that *βδελύγματα* in x. 13, Syr. תרתיהון, represent שניאם and שניהם, and that in xxvii. 30, *μῆνις καὶ ὀργῇ, καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι βδελύγματα*, Syr. *impurities*, the true reading is שגיאות, *are errors*.

48. בריאה, *the creation*.

xxxvi. 15, τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ κτίσμασί σου perhaps stands for בריותיך in the sense of *thy covenants*, for which we should expect בריותיך; it will also be found that in xliii. 2 ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ probably stands for בראות.

In xvi. 26 τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς seems to represent מעשי בראשית.

49. לוט, *to curse*.

See *supra*, No. 13.

50. השתעה, *to narrate*; שועית, *narration*.

To διηγέσθαι, διήγημα, and διήγησις, which are very frequent in Ben-Sira, there correspond as a rule in the Syriac אשתע and שועית. Some of these passages, as well as some of those where the Syriac uses other words, make it probable that the original had the words given above. xxxviii. 25, ἡ διήγησις αὐτοῦ ἐν υἱοῖς ταύρων; שועיתו את בני שורים; cp. Prov. iii. 32. xix. 8, ἐν φίλῳ καὶ ἐν ἐχθρῷ μὴ διηγῶ; Syr. אל תדנל, *do not lie*; Heb. ברע וצר אל, *concerning friend and enemy tell no stories*. xxii. 8, διηγούμενος νυστάζοντι ὁ διηγούμενος μωρῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ ἐρεῖ, τί ἐστι; Syr. *as one who eats bread when he is not hungry*; Heb. משתעה לנם; the Syrian read להם, and interpreted the verb from its first conjugation in Syriac in the sense "whoso plays with bread." vi. 35, πᾶσαν διήγησιν θείαν θέλε ἀκούειν; Syr. כל שועיתא היית, *כל שועית היה* [יהוה] רצה לשמוע; Heb. צבא למשמע.

IV.

These then are some of the observations on which my theory of the language of Ecclesiasticus is grounded, from

which it will appear that that theory corresponds very well with what is known of its nature from the quotations; and if I admit here and there pure Syriasms, it will be seen that such words as נדוד open the door to them. Dr. Neubauer would have me point תשחית as nif'al in xii. 10; but he is mistaken, for this word is probably unconnected with the Hebrew שחת (of which the Syriac form is שחט), being rather a denominative from נחשת (like *æruginare* from *æs*), in which the hif'il form is regular.¹ The demarcation line between the Syriac and Chaldee languages is not clear; and where the evidence is very strongly in favour of a Syriac word, it may be restored with very considerable confidence. The same is true (with considerable modifications) of Arabic words, provided there is reason to suppose them old and familiar.

In virtue of the observations collected above, and others like them, I hold that the development of the rabbinic dialect, as it appears in Ben-Sira, is wholly different from its development in Ecclesiastes; nor can I find in my learned critics' replies anything that can shake that conclusion. Prof. Cheyne merely states that Koheleth is somewhat the older of the two; Prof. Driver, that, so far as he can make out, the language of the two is about the same. Dr. Neubauer's standpoint would appear to shift for the purpose of contradicting me, so that he need not be answered. His argument that Jerome would not have called Ben-Sira's language Hebrew, had it been New Hebrew, I regard as a somewhat trifling cavil; yet had Ben-Sira used such expressions as עשר טוב לו אשר לא חטא, or as כי כנחשת תשחת כן רעתו, Jerome would have had little justification for calling it Hebrew or even Semitic. If Profs. Driver and Cheyne really think that the language of Ecclesiastes is one in which השכח may be used indifferently for מצא, מחד, for דור, שכח, of course my

¹ So החמין, הרקוב, הזקין, Mishna of Baba Kama, § 9.

arguments are not likely to convince them; but I venture to think that their opinion will some day be regarded as improbable.

V. THE METRE.

There are *five* reasons for believing that Ben-Sira wrote in metre :

1. The stichometry of the most ancient authorities, the Alexandrian MS., the Taurinensis of the Coptic version, the Amiatinus of the Latin. This is a most decided indication of metre, and hence the old authorities, whom Messrs. Doyly and Mant, the editors of the Family Bible, follow, rightly drew the conclusion which I quoted.

2. The rabbinical quotations from Ben-Sira, *so far as they agree with the Greek and Syriac versions*, agree with the metrical canon proposed in my essay. That these quotations are careless and inaccurate, used to be generally agreed; however, it is very remarkable that the Greek version should regularly so control them as to make them fit a certain scheme.

(a) The following are quite regular :

- (1) במה שהרשית התבונן iii. 22.
- (2) ואין לך עשק בגסתרות ,,
- (3) אשה טובה מתנה טובה xvi. 3.
- (4) אשה טובה אשרי בעלה xvi. 1.
- (5) העלם עיניך מאשת חן ix. 8.
- (6) ובין נדיבים תושיבך xi. 1.
- (7) דל נאה ועשיר מכחש xxv. 2.
- (8) בת לאביה משמחן שוא xvii. 9.
- (9) מפחדה לא יישן בלילה ,,
- (10) בקטנתה שמא תתפתה ,,
- (11) בנערותה שמא תזנה ,,
- (12) בנרה שמא לא תנשא ,,
- (13) בחזק ממך אל תחקור iii. 21.
- (14) ובמכסה ממך אל תשאק ,,

The last seven do not correspond quite accurately with the Greek.

(b) The following disagree with the metre, but, *when corrected according to the Greek and Syriac, correspond with it.*

(1) בחיך יראי אלהים תנתן

xxvi. 3. ἐν μερίδι φοβουμένων Κύριον δοθήσεται, read :

בחלק יראי יה תנתן

Compare Targum of Koheleth xi. 6. As in the copies of Ben-Sira יָה is occasionally mistaken for the 3rd fem. plural suffix, there can be no objection to the introduction of the form.

(2), (3) כל עוף למינו ישכן

ובן אדם לדומה לו

If this come from xiii. 16, πᾶσα σὰρξ κατὰ γένος συνάγεται, καὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ αὐτῷ προσκολληθήσεται ἀνὴρ, it is to be emended—

כל בשר למינו יכנס

ולדמה לו ידבק איש

but if it come from xxvii. 9, πετεινὰ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς καταλύσει, it must be emended—

עוף לדומים להם ישלנו

and in either case the scansion is accurate.

(4) כבד את רפאך עד שלא תצטרך לו

xxxviii. 1, τίμα ἱατρὸν πρὸς τὰς χρείας αὐτοῦ [τιμαῖς omitted by Syriac and MSS. 106 and 296]; but the better reading is preserved by Clem. Alex. : τίμα ἱατρὸν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν αὐτοῦ—

כבד רפא לפני צרכי, *Honour a physician according to his use.*

(5) אלוה העלה סמים מן הארץ

xxxviii. 4, Κύριος ἔκτισεν ἐκ γῆς φάρμακα. Syr. similarly ; Heb. יה ברא מן הארץ סמים.

(6) בהם הרפה מרפא את המכה

xxxviii. 7, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐθεράπευσε, καὶ ἦρε τὸν πόνον αὐτοῦ :

Syr. : בהון אסיא מניח מן כאבא,

Heb. : בהם רפא ירפה המכאוב.

The Syriac stands for ירפה מכאב : he cannot therefore have read את ; the Greek stands for רפא ורפה : he cannot therefore have read the article. This illustrates the justice of Prof. Driver's complaints about the omission of articles and particles.

(7) בהם הרקח מרקח את המרקחת

xxxviii. 8, μυρεψὸς ἐν τούτοις ποιήσει μίγμα :

רקח בהם יעשה רקח

רקח עשה is used in Exodus. באלה would scarcely be tolerable.

(8), (9) רבים יהיו דרשי שלמדך

גלה סודך לאחד

(Also quoted in another form; see Fritzsche's *Comm.*, p. 37.) vi. 6, οἱ εἰρηνεύοντές σοι, ἔστωσαν πολλοί, οἱ δὲ σύμβουλοι εἰς ἀπὸ χιλίων.

שלמדך יהיו רבים

ויעצך אחד מאלף

Both lines scan perfectly.

(10) xxv. 2 is quoted in the form אלו הן דר נאה ועשיר מנאף. מכחש וזקן מנאף. We learn from the Greek and Syriac versions that אלו הן is spurious, and that something is lost at the end, the Greek being καὶ γέροντα μοιχὸν ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει. The Syriac and MS. 248 have, instead of μοιχόν, fool, and this is required by the context; we should therefore restore—

וזקן שמה חסר מדע

מנאף would probably scan, though the verse would be less neat; but I regard it as a wrong interpretation of שמה; of course for an adulteress שמה is regular. But why, except to fill a measure, should the last words have been added?

(11) ולא הכל תביא ביהך.

This line scans accurately; however xi. 29, *μὴ πάντα ἄνθρωπον εἴσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου*, should rather be restored—

לא כל איש תביא אל ביהך
כי רבים מארבי הערים.

(12) למסד עמו יין ושכר

also scans accurately; however ix. 9, *μηδὲ συμβολοκοπήσης μετ' αὐτῆς ἐν οἴνῳ*; Syr. ולא תגר עמה שועיתא; Lat. *non alterceris cum ea in vino*, is probably to be restored—

ואל תמשך עמה בחמר.

(13) כי בתאר אשה רבים השחתו

ix. 8: *ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν*.

We should read

בתאר אשה רבים תע.

It should be observed that the quotation agrees with the Syriac here, and that *γάρ* is added by MS. 248.

Of the rabbinical quotations then twenty-seven may be quoted in support of the metrical canon. As the whole number, according to Prof. Driver, is about twenty, this is a very large proportion. But when Dr. Neubauer thinks the metrical discoverer ought to base his law on the inaccurate tradition, and then try to fit it to the accurate tradition, he would seem to suggest a very perverse method of procedure.

The agreement of the Syriac tradition with several of these quotations is a phenomenon worth noticing, but the account to be given of it may be left for another occasion.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be concluded.)

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*THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ELEMENT OF COM-
PILATION IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOKS.¹*

UNDER this somewhat ponderous title I venture to introduce a subject which cannot fail to have some interest for those whose tastes or studies have led them into the wide fields of Old Testament inquiry. It does not fall within my present purpose, even if it were within my power, to discuss any of the recent results or speculations of criticism. Summaries of these, which appear from time to time in our magazines and reviews, render such a task almost unnecessary.

My object in the present paper is rather to consider the spirit in which the results of modern criticism should be accepted, taking as a conspicuous example the ascertained compilatory structure of certain books. The invitation to read a paper upon Old Testament criticism presented an opportunity for a treatment of the subject as far removed as possible from the line either of apology or of attack. It is a line of inquiry beset with peculiar difficulties in our present state of knowledge. But it offers also special compensation. For the boon of liberated religious thought, when its true character is realized, far outweighs in value the inevitable apparent loss, incidental to the adoption of views less compact, less definite, perhaps less intelligible, than those which have traditionally been accepted in the Church.

¹ A paper read before the London Junior Clerical Society, at Sion College, Oct. 8th, 1889, and again, by request, before the clergy of the Rural Deanery of Chelsea, Dec. 12th, 1889.

All will admit that patient and skilful criticism has in recent years made substantial progress in our knowledge of the structure of the Old Testament. Criticism has, with obvious advantage on both sides, been met with counter-criticism. The battle of controversy is still raging round the most disputable details. Amid the smoke and din of exchanging volleys, we hardly notice that the field of combat is being changed. While we concentrate our attention upon this point or that, we are in danger of ignoring the significance which the assured progress in our knowledge has, or is likely to have, for our study of the Old Testament. It is surely a matter of grave importance, that we should endeavour to realize the character of the new ground, on which in all probability, to say the least, we shall eventually have to take our stand. It is surely prudent to pause awhile and estimate the gain, which the progress of our study is likely to bring with it in the near future. For gain it must be, however costly the apparent loss of an untenable position. Gain it must be to us and to all, if we are enabled to see things more truly and to teach men so. The goal can only be seen (I will not say reached) by a generation that is prepared to make its sacrifice at each halting-place in the onward journey of religious thought.

The assured progress, to which I have alluded, forms the assumption upon which the present paper is based. It is an assumption, which even the more conservative students in our own country are prepared to admit in a modified degree, that recent investigation into structure, composition, and style has revealed the compilatory character of a large proportion of the books of the Old Testament. Few scholars would be found to dispute so elementary a statement. But few probably—and certainly very few of the clergy—have realized its significance. And it is because each year of Old Testament study confirms this elementary

principle, and tends to widen its application, that I wish to call attention to it. Familiar as certain literary details of this subject may have become to many students, no apology is needed for reminding them of its relation to Christian thought. The just appreciation of the composite structure of the books of the Old Testament Canon must ultimately influence the attitude of modern Christian teaching towards many problems that centre around Holy Scripture.

It is perhaps desirable at this point to guard against misconception, and to define carefully the position which we intend to take up in dealing with the burning questions of Old Testament criticism. Let us admit at once, that it would be little short of disastrous, if criticism impaired the value and use of the reading of the Old Testament for practical and devotional religious life. But criticism is powerless to touch this one method of study, which both experience and precept unite in pronouncing to be incumbent upon all members of the Christian Church alike. It is powerless to lessen the virtue of the only method in which all can participate equally. The mass of readers are precluded from attempting anything further, by lack of leisure, of training, of books, of interest or inclination. But the spiritual and educational value of the simply practical and devotional study of the books of the Old Testament is universal and never diminishes. It was never more essential than it is now. In days of extended individual freedom and unparalleled facility of communication between the nations of the world, the Christian reader of the latter part of this century will with profit look yet more closely than hitherto to the lessons of the Divine revelation vouchsafed in the history and literature of the chosen people and through the instrumentality of its chosen men. Lessons of moral and spiritual life, for individual family and nation, start up out of the pages of law and prophecy, of psalm and history,

and are of eternal import. Now as much as in the apostolic era they can make men "wise unto salvation."

But the Christian student cannot afford to rest there. The experimental aspect of the study of Jewish Scripture does not exhaust the possibilities of fruitful religious inquiry. His range of investigation cannot be thus limited. A fresh field of labour opens out before him, when he understands that, although the Spirit of revelation is conveyed through the letter, the letter is not the revelation itself, but its record, a human literature by which the Divine message is transmitted from age to age and race to race.

No plea of reverence can be justified, or even tolerated, which would prohibit the student from investigating as narrowly as possible the human conditions under which the word of revelation has been communicated. The Church cannot afford to leave such inquiries in the hands of hostile or prejudiced critics. Her wisdom will require her sons to submit the literature of the Bible to the same searching criticism as other ancient literature—to a criticism more rigorous and unsparing in proportion as its hold over men's beliefs is more universal. Her call to us is imperative: and our duty is clear. We must not shrink from it on account of the almost proverbial unpopularity of such studies in the Church. Their unpopularity is not a matter which should surprise us, however disappointing it may be to find Christian scholarship mistaken for the veiled ingenuity of foes. In spite of the unreasonable character of much of the outcry against modern biblical criticism, students should be prepared to display the most patient sympathy towards those whose susceptibilities they have disturbed and too often thoughtlessly provoked. After all, it is only natural that the requirement to treat the books of Scripture like any other books should provoke antipathy. The task, it must be admitted, is in practice well-nigh impossible. The coolest and most judicial saga-

city is almost inevitably biassed in the consideration of Biblical questions by the influence of a long and sacred association, which seems to demand from the Christian the partiality of peculiar veneration and to excite a corresponding amount of prejudice and suspicion in the minds of avowed adversaries of our creed. Let us remember too that some are jealous of the effect which the critical analysis of the books is likely to have upon their influence as devotional literature. There is a widespread fear, lest the less strictly religious methods of study, conducted by the more learned few, in whom they have little confidence with respect to matters spiritual, should have the effect of undermining the simple faith which has been erected upon teaching drawn from Scripture as the people's book. Again, there are undoubtedly many minds which have been repelled from the critical study of Scripture by the extravagance of extremist theories and by the reckless language of ignorant people, who distort while they seek to reproduce what they have failed to understand.

We should bear in mind the common want of acquaintance with the Hebrew language, the prevalent ignorance as to the formation of the Old Testament Canon, and the lack of imaginative sympathy on the part of modern Christian thought towards the ancient literature of a Semitic race. These are obstacles which affect us all more or less ; and while they envelop Old Testament inquiry in darkness, they are apt to encourage the impression, that all movement in this region is insecure, and that it will be best and safest to remain content with our present position. In conclusion, let us sum up whatever other reasons exist for the opposition to critical study under these two heads : (1) That even the youngest among us do not like to confess, that our views may yet have to undergo the same process of modification and reconstruction which has mellowed the wisdom of previous generations ; (2) That Biblical criticism will never

escape misunderstanding on the part of those who do not wish to welcome it.

We turn then to the principal subject of this paper, the literary, as distinct from the devotional, study of the Old Testament. It can be pursued on two very different lines. Each of them is essential to the full comprehension of the sacred writings. *Firstly*, they may be treated as a literary whole. As such, they give their witness to the life and growth of the Israelite people; they explain the final development of the Jewish religion; they reveal the formation of Jewish thought and character and society; they are chief among the historic influences which prepared the way for the coming of Christ. *Secondly*, the books may be subjected in detail to critical analysis. The history, style, structure, date of each writing will then receive close scrutiny. Results will be tabulated and systematised. Upon the basis of a comparison of internal evidence, the relationship of the various documents will be determined.

A few words are needed upon this second method of study. It is the genuine product of modern scholarship. It is possible indeed that its spirit may often carry us too far afield, and that it may tempt us now and again to pay excessive attention to the *minutiæ* of linguistic and grammatical analysis. If such is the case, we must look for an explanation in the rebound of biblical interpretation from habits of hasty generalization. The equilibrium of a free and devotional exegesis has not yet been perfectly adjusted. We are still held in some degree by the reaction from methods which applied to matters of literary and historic interest the test of strictly religious assumptions. If its tendency is to be narrow, literal, and unenthusiastic, the modern method is not without its recompense. Closer analysis may indeed upset preconceived notions of date and authorship; but it gives a new power of correlating what

has hitherto been regarded as separate and distinct, it substitutes for blind guess-work the scientific interest in a complex organism, it holds out the prospect, that the varied elements in the written word may contain an unsuspected sequence corresponding to creative epochs in the religious history of the people of Israel.

Very different from this is the other line of study that I mentioned first, which regards the Old Testament Scriptures as a whole, in their work of educating the Jewish race and of preparing for the final revelation in Christ. Regarded under this aspect, the writings of the Old Testament lie before us, as they lay before our Lord and His apostles. They are the Canon of Scripture of the Jewish Church; they are the Bible of the synagogue, which moulded the thought and shaped the religious life of the Jews from whom the Church of Christ arose. To all intents and purposes the contents of the Scriptures, to which our Lord appealed, are identical with our Old Testament. Their vital significance to the Church of Christ and the secret of their influence have not changed since the first days of the apostolic era. The significance of their teaching now, as then, is moral and religious; the secret of their influence now, as then, is spiritual. Literary criticism and historical analysis were foreign to the age at which Christ came upon earth. The Scriptures of the synagogues of Jerusalem derived their position from no approving board of critics, from no censorship of historians. They owed their unique ascendancy to the popular conviction, that the Spirit of God had spoken eternal truth through the written word. It was not any theory of peculiar structure or succession of authorship, but just this conviction of its spiritual truth and power, which, having received the reiterated sanction of our Lord and the apostles, occasioned the complete acceptance by the Christian Church of the whole Jewish canon, as the literature of the partial revelation leading up, in the

history of the chosen race, to that which was Final and Perfect. A moment's reflexion is enough to show that this attitude, characteristic (in all reverence be it spoken) of our Lord and the apostles in their study and use of the Jewish Scriptures, is totally distinct from the investigation into letter and form, style and structure, which modern scholarship rightly claims to apply to the remains of an ancient religious literature. Wholly independent of vital religious issues, the determination of these literary problems fails to affect the fundamental relation of the Christian believer to the written word. These problems concern the literary phenomena, which have been the means of transmitting and are the means of teaching eternal truth. It falls to the responsibilities and the duties of our age to investigate phenomena with microscopic accuracy, and, having chronicled results, to draw such inferences as will most reasonably explain the mutual relation of documents, the signs of development in thought and expression, and the growth of religious ideas. Still, after all, the research into the literary phenomena of the books stands outside, it certainly never comes into conflict with the vital religion, whose message Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa can convey to the boldest critic of our own day, no less than to the humblest proselyte who looked for the redemption of Israel in the lifetime of our Lord.

If such be our position, we may approach the critical and analytical study of the books of the Old Testament "in full assurance of faith." We shall not be surprised, if the results of modern investigation applied to a literature, which for centuries seemed to the reverent spirit of Christendom to be shut off from the free operation of human criticism, should prove strange and startling. We shall await with the composure of an undisturbed trust the solution of momentous literary questions. We shall at least endeavour to check the sense of wrong, with which we are prone to

greet each result of criticism that conflicts with our own tradition. Lastly, we shall be in no hurry to draw the conclusion, that belief in inspiration is being violated, because the veil of centuries is being slowly removed from the human frame which has embodied the sacred message of the Spirit. More than this need scarcely be said here. For no theory as to the *modus* of inspiration—a matter concerning which we have no evidence—can help to determine questions of purely literary interest, questions that can only legitimately be determined by the recognised rules of human evidence.

It is no caricature of popular opinion, as prevalent not so very long ago, to say that the fact of a book being included in the canon of the Old Testament was a sufficient reason with the mass of readers to assign its authorship, in its present literary form, to the most holy and influential Israelite of the period with which it dealt. The criticism of modern time puts such hasty assumptions to a severe test. The structure and composition of the book must be examined; the book must so far as possible first tell its own tale; in the absence of good external testimony, internal evidence must practically alone decide its place and period in the history of literature. The late tradition preserved among the Jews or in the Christian Church will of course be taken into account, but at the best such evidence will only be of a subsidiary nature. In the case of a book of great antiquity, convincing evidence of authorship, unless stamped upon the writing itself, or corroborated by testimony from some source sufficiently near in point of time, is not probably to be expected. When this is first realized, we understand, perhaps for the first time, that the value of a sacred writing does not depend upon the identification of its author, nor even upon the unity of its authorship, any more than that its spiritual force is dependent upon the ascertained unique personality of the writer. Perplexity begins

to vanish, and new light to flood our mind, when we first grasp the thought of the law of gradual growth dominating the field of the records of revealed religion. We learn with sensations akin to delight and wonder, that the complex literature of the Old Testament is more bound up with the ordinary life of the Israelite people, and the slowly succeeding stages of religious growth, than with the isolated masterpieces of a few giant minds.

It is at this point that the realization of the large element of compilation in the structure of the Old Testament books becomes a matter of such great and suggestive importance. Many of us can recall statements from the limited experience of our own range of reading, according to which the structure of the books of the Old Testament was of the simplest possible character. The history of the patriarchs by Moses, followed by the journals of the lawgiver himself and his successor Joshua, accounted for the first six books. Judges, Ruth, and the first part of Samuel were assigned to the prophet Samuel, while the remainder of the books of Samuel fell to Nathan and Gad. The books of Kings were very naturally treated as the writing of Jeremiah; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther were ascribed to Ezra. Job was written by the patriarch himself, or by his presumed contemporary, Moses. The Psalms were the work of David. Solomon bequeathed to us Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. The books of the prophets came, as we have them, from the pens of those whose names they bear. To summarize this view in a general statement, each book was treated as a separate literary whole; each was assigned, like any modern work, to the composition of some well-known man, whose time of influence coincided with the date to which the book was traditionally ascribed; the thought, that the special gift of inspiration was thus to be accredited to an individual writer, naturally led to the popular identification of the most holy men, who were to be accounted the

channels of the revelation and the writers of the sacred books.

The criticism of recent years has put a very different complexion upon the opinion of students with respect to these topics of Biblical *prolegomena*. Men are now accepting without hesitation views strangely at variance with the old tradition. Thus, to take the most obvious instances, no difficulty is now found in accepting the statement, that the Psalter contains the poetry of many different centuries, and that not only reigns of kings like Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah, but the periods of the Captivity and the Return, and even of the Maccabæan revolt, have largely contributed to the formation of a book once popularly thought to be almost limited to the writings of Davidic authorship. It has been an agreeable surprise to many to notice, with what general assent, if not open approbation, the statement (based on the internal evidence of the book) has been received that Ecclesiastes is the work of an unknown Jew, perhaps of Alexandria, living in the third century B.C., inasmuch that the old tradition of Solomonic authorship is fast becoming obsolete. The probability, again, that the book of Job is to be included among the literary products of the exiles of the southern kingdom is being accepted, so far as can be judged at present, with every appearance of surprised satisfaction. Many an English reader has had pleasure in distinguishing for his own use the different groups of proverbial sayings, which, having been preserved in separate collections, were welded together in our book of Proverbs. In the case of the prophet Isaiah, scholars of all schools of thought are now attributing the latter portion of the book (xl.-lxvi.) to a writer living at the period of the Babylonian captivity; and even in the earlier portion, the varieties in style and the peculiarities noticeable in the grouping of the subject-matter have justified the explanation, that we have to deal here with *fasciculi* of Isaianic

prophecies, combined with utterances of a later period, and arranged at a date long subsequent to the days of Hezekiah. The books of Jeremiah, Zechariah, and Daniel are also found to illustrate in different ways characteristic phases in the compilatory process.

Turning to the historical books, it is recognised that the books of Kings are the work of a compiler, who (whether or no he was Jeremiah), at least in recording the description of the temple, and in extracting the whole section relating to Elijah and Elisha, as well as the passages which are repeated almost *verbatim* in Isaiah and Jeremiah, made no effort to conceal the process which he put in practice. In the books of Samuel, the evidence of similar compilatory work, though less exposed to view, has been made abundantly clear. And in the three main divisions into which the book of Judges falls, it is not difficult to distinguish three originally different groups of writing, of which the central portion appears itself to be a compilation derived from different sources.

I would close this hasty notice of a few instances of compilation with a brief reference to the Pentateuch, upon which the closest attention of critics has been concentrated. The conclusion seems now to be very generally accepted, on good grounds, that it is in the main a compilation of four documentary sources, which critics call the Elohist, the Jehovist, the Deuteronomist, and the Priestly Code, and that these four distinct strands of narrative can be distinguished not only in the Pentateuch, but also throughout at least the book of Joshua. Scholars, it is well known, long differed as to the relative proportions of these four elements of compilation. But on the main point agreement has been reached. The battle of controversy is no longer being fought over the question, whether the separate existence of these documents can be identified, but over a different question, which relates to the priority in date of the com-

position of these documents, and more particularly to the age in which the Priestly Code was written. Into the region of that thorny and technical question this is happily not the place to enter.

The foregoing sentences have very roughly summarized what is far from being an extremist statement of the degree in which compilation may be recognised in some of the books of the Old Testament. As scholars detach themselves from the Pentateuchal controversy, it is probable that other indications of compilation among the historical and prophetic writings will become more widely recognised. There is no doubt that in England many of us shrink from an idea which is at first sight startling and novel, partly because it seems to upset the opinion which has rested upon ecclesiastical tradition, partly too because the very conception of the composite origin of a book is so different from our modern experience. Nevertheless, it is essential, I believe, that we should attempt to realize the possible necessity of altering preconceived ideas, and that we should prepare ourselves to appreciate results of criticism, the application of which will very likely be found to prevail more extensively than has generally been supposed probable. It was for this purpose that at the outset I endeavoured to point out, that these steps of advance in critical knowledge are no hindrance to the Christian student of Divine revelation. We need however to go a step farther. It is not enough to tolerate change. We must learn to recognise, to appropriate, and to welcome its help. We must use it as God's gift to us ; and I venture to think, that the frank recognition of the element of compilation may unexpectedly aid us in our understanding and enjoyment of the books of Scripture.

Let us pass in review a few points, which tend to show that this may prove to be the case.

1. In the first place, the recognition of the element of

compilation in the structure of the books enables us to reconcile the presence of apparently late forms of language and allusions to late historical events side by side with evident tokens of great antiquity. The work of compilation has left the mark of the compiler's or the redactor's age upon the writings of earlier time. They are no mere sporadic glosses and marginal interpolations. They represent the more recent deposits in the literary stratum, sections of which have been laid bare by the excavations of the critic. For the work of the compiler was often simple and even inartistic. The recognition of it will account for the existence of many a peculiarity, which English readers are apt, in all reverence, to put to the credit of the Hebrew style of writing. The apparent want of arrangement in some narratives, the rapid transition from one subject to another, the strange repetition in a slightly altered form of the same incident, the abrupt parenthetical introduction of apparently uncalled for details and events, the insertion of lists of names, etc.—many of these strange features in the structure of the simplest books receive from the principle of compilation a satisfactory explanation. The compiler had nothing to conceal. His purpose was to transmit the best account of past events or the most complete *résumé* of some important utterance. What better way had the chronicler or compiler or scribe than to make the records from which he drew tell so far as possible their own tale in their own language?

2. In the second place, although many of the reputedly earliest writings show unmistakable signs of revision at different ages and of compilation at a comparatively late period, the separate existence of their component documents carries us far back into remote antiquity. Thus, if we take the Pentateuch to illustrate my meaning, even supposing that the view is correct which assigns the Elohist and Jehovist documents to the literary activity

of the Israelites in the 9th century B.C., it is to be remembered that each of these great written channels of tradition may be held to have had (in the same way as our own completed Pentateuch) a complex history of its own in the past. Both would have compiled from various sources the records and traditions which they now united and incorporated in their single channels. The further we recede into primitive time, the less likely are we no doubt to find traces of a continuous and orderly *written* history. But there is no reason to question, that from the earliest known ages numerous streams of oral and even of written tradition originated from and were propagated by the conditions of tribal life in Syria and of national life in Assyria and Egypt. As time passed on, the various confluent streams of narrative would become merged in a few main channels, which for vividness, force, simplicity, and completeness commended themselves most to the affections of the people. These oral and written traditions, preserved as seems most probable, in the keeping and by the industry of the priestly families and the prophetic schools, and doubtless augmented from time to time from other sources, awaited their destiny of becoming tributaries to the great stream of narrative and law which carried Judaism forth upon its mission to the world.

I venture to think, that many modern scholars who have skilfully and successfully subdivided the Pentateuch into its component parts have left themselves open to the misunderstanding, that they denied to these component parts any previous history. They have used language which was capable of being understood to mean that Elohistic and Jehovist were the figments of one century, and the Priestly Code the figment of another. It appears to me that the analogy of the completed whole is applicable to the several parts; and although I am constrained to admit that the further sub-division of the parts may exceed the ingenuity,

or at any rate the legitimate capacity, of literary analysis, I should strongly contend that a theory of the gradual growth of the component parts, as opposed to that of their sudden formation, will alone satisfactorily account for their origin and character. And I would suggest, that the fair acceptance of such a theory enables us to connect by no impossible links, but by the steady growth of literary power and the agglutination of different elements of tradition, the earliest memorials of Israel with their final embodiment in the books that have come down to us.

The thought of compilation will here remind us that in the books of Scripture we are not dependent upon a single consecutive line of literature, but upon successive and even divergent threads of tradition. Their very variety emphasizes the general unity of thought and accuracy of tradition, written and oral, which, when combined, has given so clear and continuous a narrative. These component documents comprise the substance of national tradition and literature, that was varied (a) as to the *manner* of its transmission—by writing, memory, song, genealogies; (b) as to its *agents* of communication—by priestly families, by schools of prophets, by royal scribes, by heads of tribes and families; (c) as to its *local origin*—by peculiarities of Northern and Southern Palestine, by special connexion with the temple, with places of peculiar sanctity and scenes of eventful deeds.

3. Thirdly, it only remains to say, that the general phenomena of compilation indicate the presence of the same characteristics of Hebrew literature in its earlier as in its later stage. Its characteristics are, on the one hand, to preserve tenaciously, to abstain from removing, the landmarks of the ages; on the other hand, to accept accretions of spiritual force from every creative period and to assimilate the new life with the old. This will account, in the historical narrative, for the preservation of passages derogatory

to Israelite heroes side by side with eulogistic memoirs. This will account, in the records of legislation, for the insertion of later laws and customs in connexion with, or embedded in, those of great antiquity. This will account for pages of Babylonian prophecy attached to the writings of Isaiah, for post-exilic and Maccabean Psalms, for an Alexandrian "*Koheleth*," and even for the expansion of the story of Daniel in the apocalyptic treatment of the 2nd (?) century B.C.

As we look at the collection of the Old Testament books, we are reminded of one of our own English cathedrals, in which the strangely composite structure reveals the varying taste and sympathies of successive centuries. There is an interest and a meaning in each portion, mingled with much that is quaint and fantastic. And while the whole vast compacted building summons the spirits of worshippers into the presence of their God, each separate gable, tower, and arch not only speaks of the common faith, but also testifies to the individual force or frailty of some different generation, which contributed its best to the glory of God and for the use of those that should come after it.

It is at this point, that I must bid farewell to a subject with which I have already too long occupied your attention and taxed your patience. It would take me too far afield to do more than hint at the extension of interest in the history of Israelite religion, which arises from the recognition of this principle. The object of this paper will have been fully attained, if I have at all succeeded in calling attention to lines of thought, upon which modern criticism may be disarmed of some of its terrors for Christian readers of the Old Testament.

Before concluding, however, I would venture to express the conviction, that the true appreciation of the element of compilation should lead us a long way in the direction

of understanding the process by which the sacred books acquired the recognition of what is called canonicity. The History of the Old Testament Canon forms the natural continuance of the present subject. All evidence tends to show that the idea of a canon of Scripture did not take its rise until towards the close of the monarchy, until the dispersion had begun, until the germ of the Jewish Church was seen and its possibilities understood. Not until then was the need recognised of collecting the various records of tradition, of history and law, of prophecy and poetry and "*Khokma*," and of combining them for the purpose of knitting in closer spiritual union the members of the chosen race, the Israel of God dispersed throughout the world, whom no far off temple-worship at Jerusalem could bind together in religious discipline.

Yet another and more profound subject cannot but be ultimately affected by the appreciation of the subject of this paper. The place and character of inspiration, in relation to writings of such strangely complex structure, is a matter upon which, with our limited material for forming a judgment, no hasty opinion should be hazarded. Attempts to classify inspiration, and to distribute its operation between original authorship, successive stages of revision and transmission, and ultimate compilation, repel us by an assumption of familiarity with things of the Spirit, which transcend all human understanding.

Let us be content to stop humbly at the gates of such mysteries, confessing that, at this early stage of our partial knowledge, we have here no key. None the less let us hail the presence and acknowledge the power of that eternal Spirit, as we search with patience and hope the pages of the records of the Old Covenant. Those records—completed after centuries of slow development—had not long been recognised as the finished Canon of the Jewish race, when the Son of Man came, not to destroy, but to fulfil

the covenant. Christ set His seal upon that Jewish Canon: "these" Scriptures, said He, "are they which bear witness of Me." And what more do we need? Not, surely, more definitions of inspiration; but only this, a better discernment of the Spirit.

τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ζωοποιούν.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

NOTE.

* * * This article was written last summer, and sent to the editor of THE EXPOSITOR towards the close of December, 1889. It has therefore no connexion with a recent discussion of the problems raised by Old Testament criticism. I venture however to refer readers interested in the subject to Canon Driver's article on "The Critical Study of the Old Testament" (*Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1890). Some of the points to which allusion is made in the course of my paper are there handled in detail, with the reverence, learning, and courage requisite for the task, and characteristic of the writer.—H. E. R., April 12th, 1890.

"FASTING" IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THE scope of this paper is strictly limited. It is an inquiry as to the amount and nature of the sanction which the practice of fasting receives from the authority of Holy Scripture.

With the definitions of fasting, in its connexion with religious institutions, we need not greatly trouble ourselves. In Scripture fasting means primarily the total abnegation of food for a particular period; and all later meanings are only modifications of this. In ecclesiastical literature a distinction has arisen between fasting and abstinence,—the latter being defined as "the depriving ourselves of *certain kinds of food and drink* in a rational way, and for the good of the soul"; whereas the former limits the *quantity* as

well as the kind of food. As early as the second century Tertullian says, "*Exceptio eduliorum quorundam portionale jejunium est*"; and Bellarmine, in his treatise on fasting, distinguishes between "a *spiritual* fast," which is abstinence from vices; "a *moral* fast," which is parsimony and temperance in food and drink; "a *natural* fast," which is abstinence from all food and drink taken in any way whatever; and "an *ecclesiastical* fast," which is abstinence from food in conformity with the rule of the Church. Passing over all such details, we will inquire only whether, and how far, fasting is to be regarded as a thing of Divine or permanent obligation.

We may omit from our inquiry all scriptural mention of the custom of the Jews, and other eastern nations, to fast at periods of bereavement, terror, and special humiliation. Such for instance was the fasting of Joshua and the elders of Israel after the defeat of Ai; of the Israelites in general after their humiliation by the tribe of Benjamin in the effort to avenge the infamy of Gibeah, and at Mizpeh under the pressure of Philistine tyranny; of David during the mortal sickness of his child by Bathsheba; of the Ninevites when called to repentance by Jonah; of Daniel and Esther and Nehemiah at important crises of their individual history. Such fasts belong to the natural instinct which finds expression among almost all nations in nearly every age. Whether, with Mr. Herbert Spencer, we trace the origin of voluntary fasting from the custom of lavish offerings of food to the dead; or, with Mr. E. B. Tylor, from the desire of superinducing abnormal mental conditions for the purpose of dreams and divinations; or, as seems more probable, from some dim desire to avert the wrath of Heaven by the simulation of an effect which is spontaneously caused by circumstances of mental agony, physical terror, or strong excitement—the practice is found to exist all over the world. Certain it is that fasting, at least

among priests, but also in many forms of religion among the laity, is connected with worship, alike in savage and civilized communities. Every one will see that moderation and temperance are infinitely better preparations for adoration than surfeiting and drunkenness. The Jewish priests, after the fatal irreverence shown by Nadab and Abihu, probably under the influence of wine, were forbidden altogether to touch strong drink during their periods of ministration. Such abstinence is obviously wise, and if a careful avoidance of any approach to gluttony or luxury is to be described as "fasting," it is obligatory on all men at all times; nor is it any encroachment on the sacredness of "the liberty wherewith God has made us free" if it be recommended to us more urgently at particular seasons.

It should however be observed that ecclesiastical fasting—the appointment of stated periods for abstention from all food or particular kinds of food—is so far from being *characteristic* of Judaism or of primitive Christianity, that both religions are conspicuous, in comparison with nearly every form of heathendom, by their rigid subordination, and (in some aspects) by their absolute disparagement of it.

Thus in the early sketch of the world's history and beliefs for two and a half millenniums, fasting is not once mentioned. The Patriarchs are presented to us as ideal types of faithful and god-fearing men, but we are not told that they ever thought it a religious duty to abstain from food.

In the remainder of the Pentateuch we find but three references to fasting. These are the fasting of Moses on Sinai; the fast of the Day of Atonement; and a private temporary vow of a woman "to afflict her soul" (Num. xxx. 13). To the latter we need not allude.

We are told that Moses, when he was with God on Sinai, fasted forty days and forty nights.¹ Probably we are meant to deduce from this allusion the high spiritual lesson that

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 28. The fasting is not mentioned in Deut. x. 10.

man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God. So it is interpreted by the Jewish legends. It was fasting with ecstasy, and therefore stands in no relation to the fasting of affliction or humiliation. The Talmudists imply that self-denial was not the object of this fast, when they tell us that Moses was supported all the time by the music of the spheres. We must class this period of holy seclusion, as a training for special revelations or special struggles, with the forty days of Elijah and of our Lord in the wilderness. The allusions are altogether too vague and slight to permit of our insisting on any details. Nothing more seems to be implied than that they were sustained amid the privations of the wilderness. These fasts must have been altogether abnormal, nor can they enter, otherwise than in the most general manner, into the range of conduct intended for literal imitation. Indeed as regards our Lord, St. Mark only mentions the temptation; St. Matthew speaks of Him vaguely as "fasting" forty days and forty nights; while St. Luke says that "in those days He eat nothing":—but both the latter evangelists separate the fasting from what would be its natural effects, by saying distinctly that it was only "afterwards," only "when those days were accomplished," that He hungered. A long-continued fasting dissociated from hunger is not possible to us.

Moses only established one fast day in the whole year, on the tenth day of Tisri, the seventh month.¹ It was the great Day of Atonement, and on that day strict abstinence was enjoined from evening to evening. It was

¹ Lev. xvi. 29-34, xxiii. 27-32; Num. xxix. 7-12. In none of these passages is any mention made of abstinence from food. The phrases are, "Ye shall afflict your souls, and shall do no manner of work" (Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 27; Num. xxix. 7). The Mishna interprets this to mean that Jews were to eat nothing so large as a date, nor to drink, nor to wash from sunset to sunset. Fasting was treated by the later Jews as representing a part of the duty of afflicting the soul (comp. Ps. xxxv. 13, Isa. lviii. 3) on that day.

succeeded five days later by the most jubilant festival of the year, the Feast of Tabernacles.

Recent criticism however forces on us the question, Was this fast really of *Mosaic* origin? Can it, consistently with the sacred duty which we owe to truth, be assumed to have certainly belonged to the legislation of Sinai?

For of the great Day of Atonement—the day (*yoma*) of the year *par excellence*, the day which Philo strikingly calls "the feast of the Fast"—with all its gorgeous, stately, and deeply significant ceremonial, we find not the faintest trace throughout the long centuries of Jewish history, from the days of the Exodus down to the Exile. There is not so much as a hint that it was known to Joshua or to the Judges. Not even in the eminently sacerdotal book of Chronicles is it ever or anywhere indicated that its regulations were carried out by any king or by any priest. There is not a syllable from which we could infer that Eli, or Ahimelech, or Zadok, or Abiathar, or Jehoiada, or Hilkiah, observed it. David does not once refer to it in his Psalms, nor Solomon in his Proverbs, although in both there are so many passages in which an allusion to its striking symbols would have been singularly appropriate. Neither good Hezekiah nor good Josiah show a sign that they had heard of the expiation in the Holy of holies, or of the scape-goat for Azazel. Was there no one to remind poor leprosy-stricken Uzziah, when he was shut up in the House of the Unfortunate—was there no one to tell Manasseh in his heart-broken penitence—that a great day had been expressly provided every year as a propitiation for the sins of each soul in the whole nation?

"This," some one will say, "is only the *argumentum e silentio*."

It is astonishing how many there are who think that everything is settled by a trite phrase. A mathematician is said to have got safely through the Latin disputation for

his degree of doctor of divinity on the strength of constantly repeating *nego consequentiam*. No doubt the argument from silence is sometimes inapplicable, and may sometimes be pressed too far; but, supposing that in our English history for a thousand years, from the days of Egbert to those of Queen Victoria, Christmas or Yuletide was not once alluded to by any single English writer, religious or secular, would it not be regarded as a tolerably decisive proof that the observance of Christmas was, during that epoch, unknown?

But in the present case the silence is far more remarkable. For when we turn to the great Hebrew prophets, we find in almost all of them the triple strands of menace, exhortation, and promise; and there is scarcely a page of their writings which might not naturally have led them to urge upon the sinning, repenting, backsliding people the meaning of that great memorial fast-day, on which alone the high priest entered through the veil into the holiest place, and "made atonement for the children of Israel, because of all their sins, once in the year." Yet not one of the prophets makes any allusion to this annual cleansing and this isolated fast.¹

Nor is this all. If there be one place more than another where, in accordance with every law of evidence, we should have looked for a special emphasis of insistence on this memorable day, it is in the ideal reconstruction of the temple, its priesthood, and its Levitical institutions which occupies the last nine chapters of Ezekiel. Yet while we there find a most minute description of the temple and its appurtenances, "*and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the laws thereof,*" yet of the Day of Atonement and its distinctive ceremonies we find no mention at all.

¹ In Jer. xxxvi. 6 "the fast" (A.V.) should be rendered "a fast," i.e. one of the fasts proclaimed at a time of national distress (ver. 9).

And to crown our uncertainties we have now to face the strong critical arguments of Graf, and Colenso, and Kuenen, and Wellhausen, and Robertson Smith, and Driver, which tend so powerfully towards the conclusion that *in its present form* the whole Priestly Codex—to part of which the institution of the Day of Atonement belongs—cannot with any certainty be brought back to a period earlier than the Exile. The conclusion cannot indeed be ranked as yet among the accepted *data* of biblical criticism. But if in the supreme and sacred interests of truth, we are ultimately compelled to accept it, we shall be landed in the doubt whether the Divine legislation of *Sinai* established so much as a single day in the whole year to be set aside as a day for "afflicting the soul," to which the act of fasting was supposed to belong.

If we turn to the Psalmists and the Prophets as the deepest spiritual teachers of the Hebrews, they, in their turn, lend no countenance to the observance of ecclesiastical fasts. They point not indistinctly to beneficence and almsgiving as the fasting which God approves. "Is such the fast that I have chosen?" asks the later Isaiah in one of his bursts of impassioned eloquence—"the day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? . . . Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?"

And even in the late days of the return from the Exile, the prophet Zechariah, when consulted about fasts, has no word of commendation for them. The custom had grown up in Babylonia of keeping four days of fast in commemoration of four crises of the national catastrophe. Some residents at Bethel sent Sharezer and Regem-melech to ask the

prophet if they should be continued now that the people was restored. The only reply of Zechariah is, that their fasts had been nothing to God (Zech. vii. 5). He tells them to speak the truth, to execute right judgment, to think no evil in their hearts, and to love no false oath, and then their fasts should be turned into joyful feasts (Zech. viii. 16-23).

Joel indeed, when his people was afflicted by the horrible scourge of a plague of locusts, says, "Sanctify a fast," in which however the rending of the heart, not of the garments, is the essential thing. Indeed this view of the utter uselessness of fasting *in itself*, and apart from contrition and well-doing, became "almost a commonplace of Jewish theology." "So is it," says the son of Sirach, "with a man that fasteth for his sins, and goeth again, and doeth the same: who will hear his prayer? or what doth his humbling profit him?"¹ But the special day of humiliation enjoined by Joel had no connexion with any prescribed or recurrent fast. It was a day of abstinence natural at a season of overwhelming misfortune. Moreover the drift of recent criticism seems to be in favour of regarding Joel, not by any means as the earliest of the prophets, but, on the contrary, as one who wrote at a late epoch. The whole tone of his allusions to liturgical service is that of the Exile, not that of Isaiah. It was during and after the Exile that fasting began to acquire a prominence among the Jews which it had never possessed in earlier times, and which gradually deepened into the habits of the Pharisee who boasted to God, "I fast twice in the week."

We come down to the New Testament. I once heard a young curate begin his address with the words, "Fasting is the distinctive characteristic of the disciples of Christ." Was not the remark—and something very like it is in these days constantly heard in Lenten sermons—a somewhat

¹ Ecclus. xxxiv. 25; see Taanith 16 a. Hamburger quotes further from Taanith 22, Nedarim 77, Sanhedrin 105, to the same effect.

daring challenge to the memories which recalled the question, "Why do John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, *but Thy disciples fast not?*"¹

Our Lord's reply to the challenge was, that the sons of the bridechamber cannot fast while the bridegroom is with them; "but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast in that day." The A.V. has it less accurately, "and then *shall* they fast," and one has heard the "*shall*" insisted on as though it were a command! But that error is venial in comparison with the vital mistake of those whom we so often hear speak as though we were to mean "the Christian dispensation" by "the days when the bridegroom shall be taken from them." It is part of the unhappy onesidedness which exclusively thrusts the image and conception of the dead Christ into the place which should be occupied in every Christian mind by the glad, perpetual presence of the living Christ. Most of the Fathers rightly explain the phrase as a reference to that brief time of anguish for the despairing Church during which the mortal body of Christ lay dead in the sepulchre. It was in memory of that sad hour that, as St. Irenæus tells us, the Lenten fast was commonly held in his time for one day or for two days or for forty hours.² It was reserved for other times to misunderstand so completely the meaning of the gospel as to overlook the truth that Christ is in every sense *nearer to, and more closely united with*, the true Church now, than He could be united with the disciples before the Comforter was sent, while yet they walked with Him by the Sea of Galilee or in the streets of Jerusalem. Surely one verse—if theology is to be reduced to a thing of "verses"—should have been sufficient to explode so deeply lying a misconception. For Christ said, "Nevertheless I

¹ Matt. ix. 14, 15; Mark ii. 18-20; Luke v. 33-35.

² Iren., *Ep. ad Vict. ap. Euseb. H.E.* v. 24, 1.

tell you the truth ; *It is expedient for you that I go away* : for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you."¹

There is but one other passage in which our Lord alludes to fasting,² namely, in St. Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mount,³ where He says, "Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance," and the following verses. Here He was speaking in days when fasting had become common, and was frequently⁴ practised by "the hypocrites" as well as by the sincere. Our Lord neither enjoins nor prohibits it. He leaves it as an *ἀδιούροπον*, in the same spirit which dictated the analogous words of St. Paul about clean and unclean meats : "He that eateth, eateth unto the Lord, for He giveth God thanks ; and he that eateth not, unto the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." All that He says is, whenever we practise fasting, it must be practised to God in secret, not ostentatiously to men. It does not seem correct even to say that our Lord assumes that all His disciples will do it. He might have said exactly in the same way, "Whenever you take the vow of the Nazarene, do it humbly," whereby He would indeed have sanctioned the taking of such a vow, but no one would have argued that He made it of general, still less of universal, obligation.

With the exception of St. Luke's mention that Anna, a daughter of the old dispensation, practised "fastings," there is not a word more about fastings in the four gospels. St. John, the last and most spiritual voice of Divine revelation, in his five books does not so much as once mention it. Nor does St. Peter, the great *primus inter pares* of the

¹ John xvi. 7. Comp. Matt. xxviii. 20, "Lo, I am with you *always*" ; John xiv. 16.

² Except the boast of the Pharisee, Luke xviii. 12 : *νηστεύω δις τοῦ σαββάτου*.

³ Matt. vi. 16-18.

⁴ Matt. ix. 14, *πολλὰ* ; Luke v. 33, *πολλά*.

Apostles; nor does St. Jude; nor, Nazarite as he was, does St. James the Lord's brother; nor is it so much as alluded to in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some will doubtless refer to Matthew xvii. 21, Mark ix. 29, "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," which with the texts which follow is quoted in most theological dictionaries as decisive on this subject. But if we turn to the text in the R.V., we shall see that, in that final utterance of the best scholarship of England, Matthew xvii. 21 has no existence, except in the margin, and the critical evidence which justifies its exclusion is to most scholars decisive. It has no place in \aleph or B, in 33, in the *Codices Corbienses*, in the Coptic, Æthiopic, Sahidic, Jerusalem Syriac, and other versions, and it is virtually rejected by Eusebius. It almost certainly originated in Western and Syrian interpolation. If however it occurred in Mark ix. 29, this would make no difference. But turning to that verse, I find that in the R.V. it ends with the words, "but by prayer," and the two subsequent words, *καὶ νηστεία* (not to speak of variations of order in MSS. where they occur) are also absent from \aleph , B, k, and in a quotation by St. Clement. There can therefore be little doubt on diplomatic as well as on paradiplomatic grounds, that the words are an interpolation due to the ascetic bias of many Christians in the early centuries. Seeing how strongly the current in favour of asceticism ran in the fourth and fifth centuries, it is inconceivable that the words would have been purposely omitted, but very conceivable indeed that they might have been inserted by a pious scribe.

That fasting existed among the early Christians on solemn special occasions is clear from the Acts, where it is mentioned on the occasion of ordinations, in Acts xiii. 3, xiv. 23. Nothing was more natural in a community predominantly Jewish, and still continuing the distinctively Jewish customs to such an extent that the phrase, "the Fast," is used with-

out explanation of the Day of Atonement.¹ Yet they are the *only* references to fasting in that first of ecclesiastical histories; for in Acts x. 30 the "fasting" of Cornelius is, without dispute, again due to the bias of Christian asceticism. It disappears without notice from the R.V., and is omitted in N, A, B, C, G, L, and the Vulgate and other versions.

We have now gone through the books of the New Testament, except the epistles of St. Paul. What injunctions to fast or recommendations of fasting occur in these thirteen priceless letters? Absolutely none. In 1 Corinthians vii. 5, "fasting" totally disappears from the R.V., being omitted by a host of MSS.² And this is the *only* time that the word occurs in St. Paul of ecclesiastical fastings, unless such are intended in 2 Corinthians vi. 5, xi. 27, which must be regarded as highly uncertain, and is not proved by the juxtaposition of "in hunger and thirst" in a passage so full of emotion.

It will, I think, be conceded, then, by all, that, apart from occasions when fasting is a natural concomitant of the humiliation which accompanies great trials, the practice of fasting occupies in Scripture a far less prominent place than it occupies in the pages of many ecclesiastical writers. In the New Testament it is nowhere commanded, nor is it once represented as a necessary means of grace. Undoubtedly it is a duty to observe a far greater moderation and temperance in matters of food and drink than is ordinarily practised, and there are few who would not derive benefit from an abstinence which fully meets the ordinary definitions of ecclesiastical fasting. On the other hand, it is to be feared that many take a mistaken view of its value and meritoriousness; that they carry it to extremes which

¹ Acts xxvii. 9.

² N, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, 9, 10, Vetus Lat. Vulg., etc., as well as in many versions and Fathers.

are detrimental to their work and usefulness, and that (as saints have confessed, and as physiologists are well aware) it acts on many temperaments as a direct stimulus to bodily temptations, instead of as a means of controlling them. When the latter is the case, it is surely better to substitute for physical fasting some other form of self-denial which is directly conducive to our own spiritual health and to the good of others. There is a note of deep warning in the words of St. Paul, which the R.V. first correctly rendered for English readers. "If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances, Handle not, nor taste, nor touch (all which things are to perish with the using), after the precepts and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and severity to the body; *but are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh.*"

F. W. FARRAR.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XVII. THE NEW COVENANT (CHAP. IX. 15-28).

ONE is inclined to wonder that our author did not close his statement concerning the priestly ministry of Christ with the magnificent thought contained in chap. ix. 14, and pass on at once to the exhortation to Christian confidence and steadfastness which begins at chap. x. 19. The language of the exhortation (x. 19-23), fits exactly to the terms of the doctrinal statement (ix. 14), the free access in the blood of Jesus answering to the deliverance by the same blood from all that disables for the service of the living God, and the heart sprinkled from an evil conscience answering to the purging of the conscience from dead works. Indeed so close is the correspondence between the

two passages, that one is tempted to indulge the conjecture that in the first draft of the epistle they stood in immediate contact, and that all lying between is an interpolation subsequently inserted by the writer in the final revision.

The introduction of this intervening train of thought, which contains some obscurities, and in which the interest seems to sink below the high-water mark reached in chap. ix. 14, like so much more in the epistle, is best understood in the light of apologetic aims and exigencies. In the section commencing with chap. viii. the writer has been putting two great thoughts before the minds of his readers: a better covenant than the Sinaitic, a better ministry than the Levitical, brought in by the Christian religion. Both these thoughts are new and unfamiliar to them, and to their conservative temper unacceptable, as involving religious innovation or revolution. Had either been familiar and accepted, it could have been used for the establishment of the other, which being done, there would be nothing more to be said. But both being unfamiliar, each must be used in turn to justify the other. From the better covenant prophesied of by Jeremiah, and assumed to be legitimised by his authority, it is inferred that there must be a better ministry, which, whatever its precise nature, shall be supremely effective. What that better ministry is chap. ix. 14 declares. On the strength of that statement the infinitely valuable self-sacrifice of Christ is next assumed to be the truth conceded, and from it in turn is deduced as a corollary the inauguration of a new covenant (ver. 15). The idea of the new covenant again is employed to throw light on the death of the Inaugurator, the writer being well aware how slow his readers are to take in the thought that the thing which this Man has to offer is *Himself*. Hence in this interpolated train of thought, if we may so call it, the emphasis with which is iterated and reiterated, in reference to Christ's death,

the sentiment, "*Once, but once only.*" This alternate use of two unaccepted truths to prove each other is reasoning in a circle, but there is no help for it; and the fact that the writer is obliged to have recourse to it shows conclusively how true is the assumption on which I have been proceeding in my exposition of the epistle, that the whole system of ideas embodied in it was strange to its first readers.

"*For this cause He is mediator of a new covenant*" (ver. 15). "From the better covenant I inferred a better ministry, and I have just told you what the better ministry is. Judge for yourselves of its excellence. If what I said of it be true, the priestly Minister of the Christian faith is well entitled to inaugurate a new covenant involving the supersession of the old; nay, the direct effect of His ministry is to establish such a covenant, for the purification of the conscience from dead works to serve the living God is just the improved state of things to which Jeremiah's oracle pointed. It imports all sin forgiven, the law written on the heart, God truly known in His grace, and close relations subsisting between Him and His people." Such is the connexion of thought. To make the new covenant welcome, its novelty notwithstanding, the writer hastens to specify two important benefits it brings: full redemption of the transgressions under the first covenant, and the consequent actual, effective attainment of the inheritance. To understand the former we must keep in mind the writer's doctrine as to the valuelessness of legal sacrifices. He conceives of the uncanceled iniquities of the covenanted people as going on accumulating, these sacrifices notwithstanding. In spite of annual expiations designed to clear the "ignorances" of the past year, in spite of the blood of goats and bulls profusely shed, in spite of countless sin-offerings presented by individual offenders, the mass of unpardoned sins went on increasing, till it had become a great mountain rising up between Israel and God, loudly

calling for some Mighty One who could lift it and cast it into the sea. Christ is the Mighty One. Or, to use a figure more in keeping with the language of the text, the first benefit He confers is, that He pays off the immense mass of debts with which the promised inheritance is so burdened that it is hardly worth possessing, being an inheritance of pecuniary obligation rather than of a real, substantial estate.

This accomplished, there follows of course the second benefit: the heir enters on a not merely nominal but real possession of his inheritance. "*They that have been called receive the promise of the eternal inheritance.*" They get not only the promise, but the thing promised, real fellowship with God now, with the certain hope of completed fruition in the great hereafter, when, following the Captain of salvation, they shall have passed through death to the promised land.

Having thus used Christ's death to justify the establishment of a new covenant, the writer proceeds to use the idea of a covenant to justify or explain Christ's death. It was fitting and needful that the Inaugurator of the new covenant should die once, but once only; such is the drift of what remains of the ninth chapter. In entering on this line of thought the writer makes a statement which it is difficult to understand unless we assume that he uses *διαθήκη* in vers. 16, 17 in the specific sense of a testamentary disposition, in one simple word, a will, or deed of gift by which a man disposes of his property to his heir. The Greek word bears this specific sense, as well as the more general one of an agreement between two parties. The two meanings are not exclusive of each other, for the same thing may be at once a covenant and a testament. The new constitution on which our Christian fellowship with God is based is both. It is a covenant; a rather one-sided one indeed, a covenant of promises or of grace,

still a covenant thus far, that the promises of God are given to faith. It is also a testament or will; for the peace of the new dispensation was bequeathed by Christ to His disciples on the eve of His death, and it was in the same solemn circumstances that He said to them, "I appoint¹ unto you a kingdom." It is easy to see why at this point the "new covenant" becomes a testament, and the Mediator a Testator. It is because under that aspect it becomes apparent why the death of the Inaugurator should precede the actual obtainment of the inheritance. For in the case of wills, though not in the case of covenants, it is true that a death must occur, the death, *viz.*, of the testator. Of this fact the writer takes advantage as a means of showing the congruity of death to Christ's position as Mediator of the new covenant. The view here presented of Christ's death is by no means so important as that given in the previous context; for the death of a testator is not sacrificial: it is enough that he die in any way, in order that the heir may enter into possession. But it was something gained if it could be made to appear that in some way or other, on one ground or another, Jesus as the Christ behoved to die. One wonders at the introduction of so elementary and inferior a view close upon the grand conception of ver. 14. But remember to whom the writer is addressing himself. He is not at all sure that his grand thought will strike his readers as it strikes him, and so he falls back on this cruder view as more level to childish apprehension. In patient condescension he steps down from the sublime to the commonplace. For lack of attention to his aim it may readily happen that what he meant to simplify his argument may create for us confusion and perplexity. We have difficulty in understanding how a man could at this stage in his discourse say anything so elementary.

¹ Luke xxii. 29: διατίθεμαι, the verb corresponding to the noun διαθήκη.

The two views of Christ's death, though quite distinct, and of very different degrees of importance, are yet closely connected. It is because Christ's death is sacrificial, and in that capacity of infinite virtue, that it is also the death of a testator. In other words, because Christ through the spirit offered Himself a spotless and most acceptable sacrifice to God, therefore He hath an inheritance to bequeath, and might say, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me."

The writer goes on to mention the fact that the Sinaitic covenant was inaugurated by sacrifice, still by way of showing the close connexion between death and covenanting, and the congruity between Christ's death and His position as the Inaugurator of the new covenant (ver. 18). In doing so he seems to drop the specific idea of a testament that had been suggested to his mind by the word "inheritance" (ver. 15), and to return to the more general meaning of the term *διαθήκη*. Such a sudden transition, without warning, from one sense to another of the same word is, from a logical point of view, unsatisfactory, and one is tempted to try whether the old sense cannot be made to fit into the new connexion of thought. In that case the covenant at Sinai would have to be regarded as a testamentary one, by which God bestowed on Israel a valuable inheritance. The victim slain in sacrifice would represent the testator shedding his own blood as the condition of the heir obtaining possession of the inheritance. In support of this view stress might be laid on the deviation from the original Hebrew and from the Septuagint in the report of the words spoken by Moses to Israel when he sprinkled the blood. "*Behold the blood of the covenant,*" he said. In our epistle the words are altered to, "*This is the blood of the covenant,*" which sound like an echo of the words spoken by Jesus in instituting the holy supper: "*This is My blood of the new testament.*" But this interpretation,

besides putting on the first covenant a sense foreign to Hebrew customs, would involve us in a very complicated typology. Christ would have to play many parts, being at once testator, mediator, priest, and victim; God, Moses, young men, and sacrifices, all in one.¹

In stating the facts connected with the ratification of the covenant at Sinai the writer is not careful to keep close to the narrative in Exodus. He says nothing of the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings made by the young men, first-born sons acting *pro tempore* as priests, but mentions only the sacrificial acts of Moses. On the other hand, he adds particulars from tradition or conjecture to make the description as vivid as possible; the added particulars being the water, scarlet wool, and hyssop. Further, in the original narrative there is no mention of the sprinkling of the book, nor are goats alluded to as being among the victims slain. These discrepancies are of trifling moment. The phrase "calves and goats" is a convenient expression for all bloody sacrifices. The water, wool, and hyssop were doubtless used on the occasion: the water to dilute the blood, a hyssop wand whereon to tie the wool, the wool to lick up the blood and be the instrument for sprinkling. That the book was sprinkled is probable when we consider the fact stated in ver. 22, that almost all things were by the law purged with blood, and the reason of the fact, that all things with which sinful men had to do contracted defilement, no matter how holy the things in themselves might be, the very holy of holies standing in need of purification.

This copious use of blood in connexion with the inauguration of the covenant naturally leads the writer to mention other instances of blood-sprinkling, and to make

¹ Alford holds that the writer conceives of the Sinaitic covenant as also in a sense testamentary, and vindicates the logical relevancy of *θεω* in ver. 18 by putting on it this sense: "Whence, *i.e.* since the former covenant also had its testamentary side, and thus was analogous to as well as typical of the latter."

the general observation that under the law almost everything was purged with blood,¹ and especially that the important matter of remission of sin never took place except in connexion with blood-shedding² (vers. 21, 22). The reference in ver. 21 appears to be to the ceremonies connected with the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and also to those connected with the consecration of the tabernacle, events which probably took place at the same time, though they are described in different places.³ Here again we have an addition to the rites. There is no mention in the history of the sprinkling of the tabernacle and its vessels with blood, but only of an anointing with oil. It is to be noted however that both blood and oil were used in the consecration of holy *persons*,⁴ which makes it probable that both were used in the consecration of holy *things*. The emblematic significance of the elements justifies such an inference. Blood-sprinkling signified sanctification in the negative sense of purging away the uncleanness of sin; the anointing with oil signified sanctification in the positive sense of infusing grace, or the spirit of holiness. Now sacred things admitted of the former sort of sanctification more obviously than of the latter, which seems appropriate only to persons. The inference that the blood was sprinkled on the tabernacle and its furniture is justified by Josephus, who states that Moses, when he had rewarded the artificers who had made and adorned these things, slew a bullock and a ram and a kid in the court of the tabernacle as God had commanded, and thus with the blood of the victims sprinkled Aaron and his sons with their vestments, purifying them with

¹ Literally "one may almost say (σχεδόν) that, according to the law, all things are cleansed in blood."

² *αἱματεκχυσίας*, blood-shedding, or blood-outpouring. Mr. Rendall contends for the latter; but, as Professor Davidson remarks, "so far as the author's purpose here is concerned, which is to show the necessity of a death for remission of transgressions (ver. 15), it is immaterial to decide which is meant."

³ Lev. viii. and Exod. xl.

⁴ *Vide* Lev. viii. 30.

spring water and oil, that they might be the priests of God. In this way he sanctified them for seven days in succession. The tabernacle likewise and all its vessels he sanctified, anointing them with fragrant oil, and sprinkling them with the blood of bulls and rams and goats.¹

From this extensive use of blood under the law an inference is drawn as to the probability of its use under the new covenant (ver. 23). If, it is argued, the cosmic tabernacle, with all that belonged to it, required to be purified by the blood of victims slain for that end, it stands to reason that the heavenly things of which these were the rude emblems should have their sacrifices also, only *better* than the legal ones. Why better is thus explained: "For not into a holy place made with hands, a copy (*ἀντίτυπα*, literally antitype) of the true, is Christ entered, but into heaven itself, now to appear before the face of God for us" (ver. 24). The point insisted on is: the tabernacle into which Christ hath entered being not the material, man-made one, but the spiritual, heavenly one, His sacrifice must be in keeping with the dignity of the sanctuary wherein He officiates, must, in fact, possess attributes to be found only in *Himself*; for the aim is still to press home the truth that that is what this Man has to offer.

With regard to this line of argument these observations may be made. First, seeing that blood-shedding and blood-sprinkling were so prominent features under the law, it was to be expected that there would be a sacrifice of some kind under the new dispensation. Wherever there is a shadow there must be a body that casts it. The sacrifices of the law were shadows of something better of the same kind, of a rare, perfect sacrifice offered for the same purpose, the purification of sin. Second, for the new dispensation better sacrifices (or one better sacrifice) were required. The blood of bulls and goats might do for the cosmic sanctuary,

¹ *Antiquities* iii. 18, 6.

but not for "the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, not man." One cannot read the directions for sacrifice in the law without feeling, "This is a system of beggarly elements, of rude, barbaric ritualism, in which flesh and blood are very prominent, and spiritual import very hidden and obscure. There must surely be something better than this to come, a sacrifice of moral and not merely ritual value." Third, that the new covenant sacrifice (for though the plural is used in ver. 23 to suit the parallelism of thought, there is and can be only one sacrifice), Christ *Himself*, is better than any sacrifice under the law, better than all of them put together, the best conceivable, it being absolutely impossible to imagine any quality of excellence not found in the sacrifice Christ made of Himself through an eternal spirit. There is only one point in the inference contained in ver. 23 that we may reasonably have difficulty in understanding, *viz.* the implied assertion that the heavenly things needed to be purified by sacrifice. Various modes of meeting the difficulty have been suggested. We are told, *e.g.*, that the heavenly things do not mean heaven proper, but only the things of the new covenant, the new testament Church, or something of that sort, the sphere and the means of men's relations to God; that purifying is predicated of heaven, only to make the second half of the sentence correspond to the first; that even heaven itself does need or admit of purification in the sense that it needs to be made by Christ's entry therewith or through His own blood approachable to sinful man, by the removal of the shadow cast on God's face by human guilt. For my own part, I prefer to make no attempt to assign a theological meaning to the words. I would rather make them intelligible to my mind by thinking of the glory and honour accruing even to heaven by the entrance there of "the Lamb of God." I believe there is more of poetry than of theology in the words. For the writer is a poet as well as a theologian,

and on this account theological pedants, however learned, can never succeed in interpreting satisfactorily this epistle.

Thus far the leading thought has been, It behoved Christ to die once. Of what remains, the burden is, *once only*. It is not a new thought, but the repetition of a thought more than once already enunciated (vii. 27, ix. 12), iteration being forced on the teacher by the dulness of his pupils. But while not new in itself, the truth is enforced by a new argument, drawn not from the same source as the argument for the necessity of Christ's dying once, the analogy between the old and the new covenants, but from an analogy between the course of Christ's experience and that of men in general. It behoved Christ as a Mediator to die once, for even the first covenant was inaugurated by death; but it behoved Him to die once only, because it is appointed unto all men to die once only. The writer could find nothing in the Levitical system, or in the history of the old covenant analogous to the "once-for-all" attribute of Christ's death; and it was this fact that made it hard for the Hebrews to be reconciled to the solitary sacrifice of the Christian dispensation. He makes here a last effort to enlighten them, skilfully seeking in the history of the human race what he could not find in the history of the Sinaitic covenant, an analogy fitted to popularize the truth he is bent on inculcating.

These verses (25-28) may be paraphrased thus: Christ has entered into the heavenly sanctuary to appear in the presence of God for us, and *to abide there*, herein differing from the Levitical high priest, who went into the most holy place, and came out, and went in again, repeating the process year by year, and making many appearances before God, with the blood of fresh sacrifices. Christ presents Himself before God once for all, remaining in the celestial sanctuary, and not going out and coming in again and again. It must be so; any other state of things would in-

volve an absurdity. If Christ were to go in and come out, go in and come out, again and again, that would imply His dying over and over again ; for the object of the repeated self-presentations in the presence of God on the part of the Jewish high priest was to offer the blood of new victims : but as Christ's sacrifice was Himself, each new self-presentation would in His case imply a previous repetition of His passion. He must often on that supposition have suffered death since the foundation of the world. But such an idea is absurd. It is contrary to all human experience, for it is appointed to men to die once only. After death comes no new return to life, to be followed by a second death, and so on times without number. After death once endured comes only the judgment. In like manner it is absurd to think of Christ as coming to the earth to live and die over and over again. He will indeed come once again, a second time ; not however as a Saviour to die for sin, but as a Judge. As for us men, after death comes at the end of the world the judgment ; so for Him, after His passion comes, at the end of the world, the work of judging : that is to say, in the case of those who believe in Him and look for Him, the work of assigning to them, by a judicial award, the end of their faith, even eternal salvation.

To minds enlightened in Christian truth this train of thought is by no means so important as that contained in vers. 13, 14, where the sufficiency of Christ's one sacrifice of Himself to accomplish the end of all sacrifice is proved from the infinite moral worth of that one sacrifice. But though of little value intrinsically, because giving no insight into the *rationale* of non-repetition of sacrifice, this final argument is of a more popular character, and fitted to tell on minds unable to appreciate arguments of a higher order. Their need is its justification.

Three points here call for a few sentences of additional explanation :

1. In the statement that repeated self-presentation on Christ's part before God, after the manner of the Levitical high priest, would imply frequent experience of death, the date from which these hypothetical experiences are made to begin is remarkable. "Since in that case it would have been necessary that He should suffer often *from the foundation of the world.*" Why go back so far? why not rather say, "Then must He suffer again and again hereafter"? The answer to the latter part of the question will appear when we come to the second point I mean to notice; but as for the former part of the question, it admits of a satisfactory answer offhand. When we consider the purpose for which Christ died, it becomes clear that if one dying was not enough, then the commencement of the series of His self-sacrifices would require to be contemporaneous with the origin of sin. If by a single offering of Himself He could take away the sin of the world, then it did not matter when it was made. It might be presented at any time which seemed best to the wisdom of God. For its efficacy in that case would be spread over all time; it would avail for the ages before Christ's advent as well as for the ages that might come after, in virtue of the eternal spirit by which it was offered. But if by one offering Christ could not take away absolutely the world's sin; if the efficacy of His blood, like that of legal victims, was only temporary, limited, say, to a generation, as that of the victims slain on the day of atonement was to a single year,—then He must either die for each successive generation, or the sins of the world, those of one favoured generation excepted, must go unatoned for.

It is thus clear that if one offering had not sufficed Christ would have had to begin His series of incarnations and atonements from the date of Adam's fall, and to carry them on as long as the world lasted. This is what the writer intended to say in the statement above quoted. But the

same idea might have been expressed thus: "Then must He continue to offer Himself from time to time till the end of the world." The difference between the two ways of putting the matter is, that in the one it is virtually stated that the experience which Christ underwent eighteen centuries ago could not (in the case supposed) have been the first; while in the other it would be virtually stated that that same experience could not be the last, the whole truth being that it could neither be the first nor the last.

2. But why then not say, "Then must He often suffer hereafter"? The answer to this question is, that as the writer conceived the history of the world there was no room left for future incarnations and passions. The world's history was near its end. This view comes out in these words: "But now once for all, at the end of the ages, hath He been manifested for the cancelling of sin by the sacrifice of Himself" (ver. 26); and it is the second point calling for remark. Now as to the belief held by the writer in common with all who lived in the apostolic age, that the end of the world was at hand, there is nothing to be said about it, save that he and his contemporaries knew no better. They had no revelation on the subject, but were left to their own impressions, which have turned out to be mistaken. The one true element in them was, that the Christian dispensation is the final one, so that we look for no new era, but only for the *συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων*. But it is worthy of remark, that the conception of Christ's death, resulting from this belief, as taking place at the end of the world, is in its own way very impressive. The history of redemption implied therein is something like this: The sins of the world go on accumulating as the successive generations of mankind appear and disappear. In spite of all that legal sacrifices can effect the mass grows ever bigger. At the end of the ages Christ makes His appearance on the earth to annihilate this immense accumulation of sins, to lift the load on His strong

shoulders, and cast it into the depths of the sea, and so to bring in the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. Surely a sublime mode of conceiving Christ's work; not less so than that which is more natural to us living far down in the Christian centuries, according to which Christ, in His earthly life, bisects the course of time into two parts, appearing as the central figure in the world's history, spreading His healing wings over the whole race of Adam, one wing over the ages before He came, the other over the ages after.

3. The third point calling for mention is the representation of Christ as appearing in His second advent *without sin* (*χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας*, ver. 28).

The expression, "without sin," used in reference to the second coming implies that in some sense Christ came with sin at His first advent. And, however hard the idea may be, the writer certainly does mean to represent Christ as appearing the first time with sin. His own words in the immediately preceding context explain the sense in which he understands the statement, "Christ, once offered to bear the sins of many." Christ came the first time with sin, but not His own: with the sins of the many, of the world, of all generations of mankind; with sin on Him, not in Him; came to be laden in spirit, destiny, and lot with the world's guilt, so that He might truly be called "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." To say that Christ appeared the first time with sin is equivalent to saying that He came to be a Redeemer from sin. The difference between the two comings therefore is this: in the first, Christ came as a Sin-bearer; in the second, He will come as a Judge. After the first coming no more sacrifice for sin is needed; all that remains to be done is to gather up the results of the one great sacrifice.

A. B. BRUCE.

*TESTIMONY OF NAPOLEON I. WITH REGARD
TO CHRIST.*

MANY of our readers have, without doubt, in the course of their reading, come across statements that professed to be the testimony of Napoleon I. with regard to Christ. They may have met with those statements sometimes in the form of a mere sentence, sometimes as an extract of less or greater length, and sometimes in the form of a separate tract. But if their experience has been the same as ours, they must often have asked, but asked in vain, What is the authority on which such statements rest? For whatever their form, we have all but invariably found them given without any exact and explicit reference to the original authority, a defect which to many minds must deprive them of most of their weight.

We recently had occasion to look somewhat carefully into the question of the genuineness of this alleged testimony, and after a little trouble succeeded in getting pretty well to the root of the matter, and reaching such 'ground as the case seems to admit of. We venture to think that it may be interesting to not a few of our readers to learn the result of our investigation; and accordingly we proceed to lay before them, first of all a statement with regard to the authority on which the alleged testimony rests, and then a tolerably full translation of the testimony itself.

The reader may find the narrative of a careful investigation of the question by Dr. Schaff, of New York, the well-known Church historian, in his interesting volume on the *Person of Christ*.¹ Dr. Schaff there tells us that he found the testimony in Abbot's *Life of Napoleon*, and also in Abbot's *Confidential Correspondence of the Emperor Napoleon with the Empress Josephine*, "without however being

¹ Pp. 219-250.

traced to a reliable source." He made what investigation he could in America, but without any more definite result than the discovery of the name of the book which he suspected might be,¹ and which actually is, the original source, although he failed to ascertain the fact, through not being able to find a copy of it in the libraries of New York. He refers to a printed letter of Professor de Felice of Montauban, in which the professor "asserts, that the testimony as published in the French tract [referred to below] is undoubtedly genuine, but gives no proofs." He latterly entered into correspondence with several gentlemen in France, and amongst them Pastor Bersier, who however, while they affirmed the genuineness of the testimony, were unable to trace it up to the unquestionably original authority. At the close of the narrative of his investigation, Dr. Schaff prints the testimony in the form in which it is given in tract No. 200 of the Religious Tract Society of Paris, and then as given in tract No. 477 of the American Tract Society. He adds, "It will be seen that the French and English differ considerably, but they breathe the same spirit." We shall immediately see the complete explanation.

In endeavouring to hunt up the original source we fared no better in Edinburgh than Dr. Schaff did in New York. But in trying Paris we met with more success. The book which is the original source is now lying before us, and in its latest edition bears the title, *Sentiment de Napoléon I^{er} sur le Christianisme, d'après des témoignages recueillis par feu le chevalier de Beauterne*.² Nouvelle édition. Par M.

¹ In the first edition (1880), he says the testimony is "probably derived" from the book referred to; and in the second edition he says, "It seems to have been published first in 1842 and 1843 in periodicals and tracts, and also in the [said] book" (p. 224 in both editions).

² Beauterne was an ardent Roman Catholic and a great admirer of Napoleon. He was the author of other two works: *Mort de l'Enfant impie*, and *L'Enfance de Napoléon*.

Bouniol (Paris : Bray, 1868). It is from the *fifth chapter* of this work, according to the numbering in this edition, that all the different forms of the testimony have been originally derived. The exact title of the third edition of Beauterne's book (1843) was, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme : conversations religieuses recueillies à Sainte-Hélène par M. le général comte de Montholon* ; from which it appears that the earlier editions actually bore on the title-page the name of Montholon as the authority for the conversations therein reported. The new edition now before us professes to have been in some respects abridged and in others enlarged by Bouniol, its late editor ; but its fifth chapter seems to have undergone no change, except it may be the omission of sentences or portions here and there. Further, we may add that this same chapter, which is indeed the kernel of the book, was also reproduced in pamphlet form with the title, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur la Divinité de Jésus-Christ : pensées recueillies à Sainte-Hélène par M. le comte de Montholon, et publiées par M. le chevalier de Beauterne* (2^e édition, 1841, Debécourt).¹ Unfortunately however we have not been able to find copies either of this pamphlet or of the third edition referred to above.

Our next object must be to consider whether we can make good the authenticity of the alleged testimony ; and here we must first let Beauterne speak for himself. He says :

"Of the sources from which I have drawn, the first line is formed by the Emperor's companions in exile [in St. Helena]. But the person to whom my most respectful thanks are due is Count Montholon. I might almost say that the entire collection is much more his work than mine. The literary form is mine. But I affirm, and I repeat it, that the thoughts, the arguments, are the spirit, the language, the work of Napoleon himself."²

¹ In Lorenz's *Catalogue général de la Librairie française* this brochure is actually entered under the name of Montholon.

² *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme*, pp. 14, 15.

Again he says :

"The style and even entire phrases belong to the Emperor, sometimes literally, as for example that sentence which stands at the head of his conversation concerning Jesus Christ : ' I know men; and I tell you that Jesus is not a man.' " ¹

And once more he says :

"I repeat then that my documents are authentic, having emanated from *living and contemporary personages, who have given them to me as the authors or the witnesses of the facts which I recount. All my book is true with regard to principal and essence.*" ²

In so far as chapter v. is concerned, the portion with which we have immediately to do, the capital authority is General Montholon. Accordingly we naturally ask, What is the value of Montholon's authority? There can be no doubt that it is of the highest order. He had the best possible opportunity for being able to report the Emperor's conversations and sayings. He was his close and faithful companion during all the time of his exile in St. Helena, and in his will the Emperor appointed him one of his executors, leaving him a bequest of 2,000,000 francs, "as a proof of my satisfaction and the filial care which he bestowed on me for six years." ³ M. Marchand, the chief *valet de chambre* of the Emperor in his banishment, wrote to Beauterne : "No one can contradict anything that has been communicated to you by Count Montholon, for he enjoyed the most intimate confidence of the Emperor, and was therefore in a better position than any one else to be acquainted with everything that took place at Longwood" (Napoleon's home on St. Helena). ⁴

We can now take a decided step forward, and one which is of the utmost importance. After Beauterne had published the first edition of his work, he sent an early copy of it to Montholon, who was at that time a political prisoner

¹ *Sentiment de Napoléon*, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

in the State prison of Ham. Along with that copy he wrote to him as follows: "I hope that the religious views of the Emperor, collected from your lips, and which I have already read to you in part, I believe, will please you still more in the citadel of Ham than in your apartment in the Luxembourg." To that letter Count Montholon replied on May 30th, 1841: "I have read with a lively interest your work, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme*, and I do not think it is possible to express better the religious beliefs of the Emperor."¹ It should also be remembered that Montholon survived until 1853, so that before his death Beauterne's book and extracts from it must have been circulating in France for years with his knowledge, and even with his consent; for, as we have seen, the earlier editions bore his name upon the title-page. Dr. Schaff says that "General Bertrand [to whom the utterances are alleged to have been at least partly addressed] and General Montholon would be the proper vouchers, since they heard and must have repeated the utterances at St. Helena."² We have thus succeeded in getting this condition so far fulfilled, by tracing up the report of the conversation or conversations to Montholon, and in having his authentication of that report.

But now we have to consider whether General Bertrand has anything to say in regard to the matter. He has, and apparently in direct contradiction to the above. When he was in St. Helena with the Emperor, he wrote out to his dictation the memorials of the campaigns in Egypt and Syria. These memorials the general had prepared for publication, but he died on January 31st, 1844, before his purpose had been carried out. The work however was

¹ *Sentiment de Napoléon*, pp. 156 f. Cf. also p. viii. The French is, "J'ai lu avec un vif intérêt votre ouvrage, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme*; et je ne pense pas qu'il soit possible de mieux exprimer les croyances religieuses de l'Empereur."

Person of Christ, p. 223.

published by his sons in 1847, with a long preface from the hand of Bertrand himself, in which he touches on a variety of matters in a somewhat fragmentary way. In this preface he refers to Beauterne's work under its original title,¹ *Conversations religieuses de Napoléon*, and speaks of it with bitterness as a "libel," because of statements which it makes offensive to himself and his wife. He then goes on to say: "In that book one has dared to present to the public, as collected in St. Helena, two pretended conversations between the Emperor and his grand-marshal [Bertrand], the one on the divinity of Jesus Christ, consisting of little less than fifty pages, the other on the existence of God. These two conversations, inclosed in inverted commas, are a pure invention; they do not contain a single word of truth, NOT ONE." Again he says, "Neither in France, nor in the army, nor in the Island of Elba, nor in St. Helena, have I heard Napoleon discussing the existence of God or the divinity of Jesus Christ."² This is very explicit, and is emphatic even to capitals.

What then are we to make of this apparent contradiction? On the one hand, we have the strong and repeated asseverations of Beauterne already given. We have the facts that the contents of the book were read over to Montholon, at least in part, before it was printed, and that an early copy of the printed work was sent to him and read by him with lively interest. Above all, we have Montholon's

¹ *Conversations religieuses de Napoléon*, récit authentique de sa mort chrétienne, avec des documents inédits de la plus haute importance, où il révèle lui-même sa pensée intime sur le christianisme, 1840.

² *Guerre d'Orient: Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. i., pp. 1, li (Paris, 1847). The French is: "Dans cet écrit on a osé présenter au public, comme recueillies à Sainte-Hélène, deux prétendues conversations entre l'Empereur et son grand-maréchal, l'une sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ, et n'ayant guère moins de cinquante pages, l'autre sur l'existence de Dieu. Ces deux conversations guillemetées sont une pure invention; elles ne renferment pas un seul mot de vrai, UN SEUL. . . . Ni en France, ni à l'armée, ni à l'île d'Elbe, ni à Sainte-Hélène, je n'ai entendu Napoléon disserter sur l'existence de Dieu, ou sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ."

attestation of the contents of the book, and very specially of chapter v., as the best possible expression of the Emperor's religious views. No doubt it must be confessed that the form of this attestation is somewhat general; he does not say in so many words that the conversations are correctly reported; nevertheless, in view very particularly of the strong and repeated protestations and asseverations contained in the book, it practically amounts to this. Furthermore we find Montholon speaking of Beauterne as a "conscientious author," and on one occasion writing to him to "correct certain mistakes to which his standing as a conscientious author might give weight,"¹ so that we may with all the greater confidence accept the material which the general not only allows to pass current for years with his name attached, but which he explicitly endorses. We even find Montholon in another letter confidently referring Beauterne to Bertrand himself as certain to substantiate his report of the Emperor's "religious conversations."² On the other hand, Bertrand's statement is not less, is even more emphatic. It is indeed a flat contradiction. How then is the difficulty to be explained?

If we are to have regard solely to the opinion of the English chroniclers of Napoleon's exile in St. Helena, we should place but little reliance on the veracity of either Montholon or Bertrand, when the supposed glory of the Emperor is concerned. O'Meara speaks of Montholon as one, who, "were he not a poltroon and a liar, would be a most excellent man, and who, but for these two little defects, is a perfect gentleman."³ Forsyth denies "Bertrand's claim to be regarded as a person of veracity," and declares that he "never failed to bear false witness against Sir

¹ *Sentiment de Napoléon*, Letter, pp. 148 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³ Forsyth's *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, letter quoted vol. i., p. 186.

Hudson Lowe [the governor of St. Helena], whenever he thought the interests of Napoleon required it.”¹ Of course French writers give the two generals a character directly the opposite; but perhaps it is of more consequence for us to remember that both of them were the close and highly esteemed companions of the Emperor, who was a thoroughly good judge of men, and was not in the least likely to select as his friends men who were mere fools, poltroons, and liars. Moreover both Montholon and Bertrand, especially the former, have left behind them memorials of the Emperor's life, by which their general veracity may be tested; and from these it appears that, while they show the usual bias of men enthralled by a more powerful personality, there is no sufficient reason for doubting the genuineness of their evidence in reference to such a matter as that before us. Accordingly we regard it as utterly incredible that Montholon should have fabricated, or sanctioned the fabrication of, such a tissue of lies and forgeries, and not only permitted them to be published with his name attached, while his brother general was still living, but even appealed to him for confirmation. On the other hand, we hold it equally incredible that the strong, categorical denial of Bertrand is merely a bit of deliberate hard lying, though it may militate somewhat against its force that it should have been withheld during his life, and only published by his sons three years after his death.

We suggest the following as an explanation of the difficulty. Montholon had apartments and lived in the same house with the Emperor all the time of his exile; Bertrand always lived with his family in a separate house, and for some time at the distance of a mile and a half. Montholon not only lived under the same roof with the Emperor, but in constant and close companionship, dining with him every day. There was thus the most natural and ample

¹ *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, vol. iii., pp. 303 f.

opportunity for Montholon having numerous conversations on Christianity with Napoleon in the absence of Bertrand. Our solution therefore is, that two or three of the pregnant sentences at the beginning and the close of Beauterne's report may have been incidentally addressed to Bertrand, and the fact forgotten by him, or they may have been related by Montholon through mistake of memory as having been addressed to Bertrand ; but that in either case the body of the chapter consists of fragmentary reports of different conversations of the Emperor which took place casually with Montholon or in his hearing, and were worked up and expanded by Beauterne. This view of the chapter is strongly confirmed by the title which it bore when published in the separate pamphlet form referred to above, in which it is described as *Thoughts Collected at St. Helena by Count Montholon*. Moreover this solution, as we shall presently see, is supported by internal evidence, and is in full accordance with the view of the chapter which we had adopted before we were aware of Bertrand's explicit denial. Indeed, Bertrand's volumes prove quite conclusively that, so far as Napoleon's religious views are concerned, he might very well have uttered all that is to be found in Beauterne's chapter, while at the same time he informs us that the Emperor frequently spoke "more like a philosopher than a general."¹

We do not mean to enter at any length into the internal criticism of the special chapter of Beauterne's book now before us, but a few sentences on the subject are necessary. The French editor of our copy says in a foot-note: "Napoleon never uttered at one breath this magnificent apology. The author must have collected and joined together here what was said in different conversations."² This is almost

¹ Cf. *Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. i., pp. xvi., liv., and very specially a long passage on the Christian religion, vol. i., pp. 205 ff.

² *Sentiment de Napoléon*, p. 87.

certainly correct; and we infer it, not merely from the length of the chapter, but from the fact that we find duplications in it, which suggest that it consists of reports of different conversations on the same or a cognate subject. Furthermore, the want of a clear, straight line running through it, the obvious roughness of the joinings here and there, and the distinct feeling of fragmentariness occasionally produced in the mind of the reader point to the same conclusion. In any case we cannot accept such a lengthened report taken down after the lapse of years as at all *verbatim*, notwithstanding Beauterne's assertion that the companions of the Emperor faithfully preserved the memory of his conversations "with that scrupulousness and respect which everything inspires that proceeds from a great man." But while there can be no reasonable doubt that the declaration of Bertrand greatly detracts from the weight of the evidence in favour of the genuineness, nevertheless, in view of all the circumstances of the case, we think we may still accept the report as a fairly correct, if somewhat worked up and expanded, reproduction of the substance, with many of the expressions and even occasional brief sentences, of casual conversations of the Emperor. Indeed, the expressions at times authenticate themselves by their characteristic nerve and point, for, as Beauterne remarks, "one cannot counterfeit genius."

The general conclusion to which our investigation has conducted us is supported, so far as we have seen, by the consensus of competent men who have expressed an opinion on the matter. Auguste Nicolas, in a work of decided importance in its day, entitled, *Études philosophiques sur le Christianisme*, quotes a large portion of Beauterne's fifth chapter *verbatim*. He then adds in a footnote: "This judgment of Napoleon with regard to Jesus Christ was published in a book written in 1841, after communication received from General Montholon. Quoted repeatedly and in circum-

stances of responsibility, that judgment passes as historical. Besides, its value does not consist merely in its authenticity, but consists especially in the force of truth which distinguishes it, and the touch of originality of which it bears the stamp. And that again contributes to the support of its authenticity; *one sees there the claw of the lion.*"¹ Lacordaire, who, like Nicolas, was a contemporary and likely to have been well acquainted with the facts, also quotes from the conversations, and evidently accepts them as unquestionably authentic.² Professor de Felice, of Montauban, another contemporary and thoroughly competent authority, as we have already seen, regards the conversations as undoubtedly genuine.³ The late Pastor Bersier held the same view: "I believe in the perfect authenticity [of the reported conversations]. No one, especially at that time, could have invented them"; and then he finishes with almost the same expression as Nicolas, "There is the claw of the lion there."⁴ The author of the article on Napoleon in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, after some hesitation, decides in favour of inserting Beauterne's book among the genuine, and not among the apocryphal, Napoleonic literature. The conversations are also accepted as genuine by Luthardt in his *Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums*,⁵ and among English authors by Canon Liddon in his *Divinity of our Lord*,⁶ and Cardinal Newman in his *Grammar of Assent*.⁷ Dr. Schaff also, at the close of his careful investigation, arrives at the same general conclusion: "The conversations are authentic in substance; because they have

¹ Vol. iv., pp. 89 f., 9th edition (Paris, 1855).

² *Conferences on Jesus Christ*, pp. 36 ff. (London, 1870).

³ Schaff, *Person of Christ*, pp. 224 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, letter to Dr. Schaff, p. 284 (1880).

⁵ Pp. 234, 293, fourth edition.

⁶ Pp. 150 f., eleventh edition.

⁷ Pp. 489 ff., eighth edition. Cf. also Geikie, *Life of Christ*, chap. i.; Farrar, *Witness of History to Christ*, p. 81; and Naville, *The Christ*, p. 174 (Edinburgh, 1880).

the egotistic manner of Napoleon, and are marked by that massive grandeur and granite-like simplicity of thought and style which characterize the best of his utterances."¹

The original source of Napoleon's testimony in regard to Christ is thus to be found in the fifth chapter of the edition of Beauterne's book now before us. When we turn to it we see the difficulty at once cleared up which presented itself to Dr. Schaff; namely, the difference between the French and English tracts as printed by him. Beauterne's fifth chapter is a somewhat long one, extending over thirty-three pages,² and both tracts, being much smaller than the original, consist only of selections therefrom. The selections of which the French tract is composed are naturally to a considerable extent different from those of which the English one is composed. But the French tract is made up of passages taken *verbatim* from the chapter in question. It is indeed sentence for sentence, and word for word, the same as the extracts we find in the work of Nicolas referred to above. The English tract again, as given by Dr. Schaff, is a somewhat larger collection of extracts than the French one; but in going over it carefully we find that every sentence, with the exception of an unimportant one of five lines, which comes in quite abruptly, has its corresponding sentence in the original of Beauterne. It has also a brief introduction to make the tract more intelligible, which is not to be found in our fifth chapter, and which may possibly be derived from the reproduction of this chapter separately published in the form already referred to.

¹ *Person of Christ*, p. 225. The same series of extracts as in Schaff's English tract is given as genuine in a little volume, entitled, *The Table Talk and Opinions of Napoleon*, pp. 112-122 (London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1868); cf. also a brief series of extracts in O'Meara's *Napoleon at St. Helena*, vol. ii., pp. 353 ff. (1888). In none of all the above is Beauterne's book given as the original source, although it is mentioned by Liddon; and, singularly enough, not one of the French authors mentions Bertrand's contradiction. Liddon however does so in a note on p. 151.

² Pp. 85-118.

We now proceed to give a translation of the portions of this chapter which especially bear upon the Person of Christ. Of course our selection differs somewhat from both the French and the English tracts reprinted by Dr. Schaff, but the explanation will now be plain; and we need scarcely add that every sentence has its corresponding sentence in the original.

"One evening at St. Helena the conversation was animated. The subject treated of was an exalted one; it was the divinity of Jesus Christ. Napoleon defended the truth of this doctrine with the arguments and eloquence of a man of genius, with something also of the native faith of the Corsican and the Italian. To the objections of one of the interlocutors, who seemed to see in the Saviour but a sage, an illustrious philosopher, a great man, the Emperor replied:¹

"I know men, and I tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man.

"Superficial minds may see some resemblance between Christ and the founders of empires, the conquerors, and the gods of other religions. That resemblance does not exist. Any one who has a true knowledge of things and experience of men will cut short the question as I do. Which of us contemplating in the spirit of criticism the different religions of the nations cannot look their authors in the face and say, "No; you are neither gods nor the agents of the Deity? You have no mission from heaven; you are rather the missionaries of lies. Assuredly you have been kneaded out of the same clay as other mortals."

"I see in Lycurgus, Numa, Confucius, and Mahomet merely legislators; but nothing which reveals the Deity. On the contrary, I see numerous relations between them and myself. I make out resemblances, weaknesses, and common errors which assimilate them to myself and humanity. Their faculties are those which I possess. But it is different with Christ. Everything about Him astonishes me; His spirit surprises me, and His will confounds me. Between Him and anything of this world there is no possible term of comparison. He is really a Being apart. His ideas and His emotions, the truth which He announces, His method of producing conviction, can be explained neither by the organization of man nor by the nature of things.

There is a long report of a similar conversation given by Las Cases, *Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena*, vol. ii., Part Fourth, pp. 129 ff. It begins thus: "In the evening, after dinner, the conversation turned upon religion. The Emperor dwelt on the subject at length. After having spoken for some time with warmth and animation, he said, 'Everything proclaims the existence of God; that cannot be questioned.'" (Cf. also *Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. i., chap. v.).

“His birth and the history of His life, the profoundness of His teaching—which truly reaches the very summit of the difficulties, and which is their most admirable solution,—His gospel, the uniqueness of this mysterious Being, His appearance, His empire, His march across ages and kingdoms, all is to me a marvel, a mystery unfathomable: a mystery which I cannot deny, and yet which I am just as unable to explain. Here I see nothing of man. The nearer I approach Him and the more closely I examine Him, the more everything seems above me; everything continues great with a greatness that crushes me.

“His religion is a secret belonging to Himself alone, and proceeds from an intelligence which assuredly is not the intelligence of man. There is in Him a profound originality which creates a series of sayings and maxims hitherto unknown. Jesus borrows nothing from any of the sciences. You find in Himself alone the ideal or example of His life. He is not a philosopher; for He proceeds by the method of miracles, and from the beginning His disciples are His worshippers. He persuades them by an appeal to their moral sense, rather than by the ostentatious display of method and logic. His business is with the soul; He occupies Himself with it, and to it He addresses His gospel. The soul alone satisfies Him as He satisfies the soul. Until the time of His coming the soul was nothing; matter and force were the masters of the world. At His voice everything falls into order. Science and philosophy are henceforth but secondary matters; the soul has regained its sovereignty. All scholastic scaffolding collapses in ruin before that single word, FAITH. What a Master! what a word that must be which effects such a revolution!

“Christ expects everything from His death. Is that the invention of a man? On the contrary, it is a strange course of procedure, a superhuman confidence, an inexplicable reality. In every other existence than that of Christ, what imperfections, what changes! Where is the character which does not bend aside when overthrown by obstacles? Who is the individual that is not moulded by event and place, that does not yield to the influence of the age, that has not compounded with its manners and its passions? I defy you to cite any existence, other than that of Christ, exempt from the least vacillation, free from all such blemishes and changes. From the first day to the last He is the same, always the same, majestic and simple, infinitely severe and infinitely gentle. In the intercourse of a public life He never gives a handle to the smallest criticism; His conduct so prudent compels admiration by its mixture of force and gentleness. Whether He speaks or acts, Jesus is luminous, unchangeable, unmoved by passion. The sublime, some one says, is a mark of the Deity; what name shall we give to Him who unites in Himself all the features of the sublime?

“‘Christ proves that He is the Son of the Eternal by His contempt of time; all His doctrines mean one and the same thing, Eternity. How the horizon of His empire extends, and prolongs itself into infinitude! Christ reigns beyond life and beyond death. The past and the future are alike to Him: the kingdom of the truth has, and in effect can have, no other limit than the false. Jesus has taken possession of the human race; He has made of it a single nationality, the nationality of upright men, whom He calls to a perfect life.

“‘Christ commands us with authority to believe Him, without giving any other reason than that tremendous word, *I am God*. He declares it. What a chasm He scoops out by that declaration between Himself and all the fabricators of religions! What audacity, what sacrilege, what blasphemy, if it is not true! There is no middle position; either Christ is an impostor or He is God. But the divinity of Christ once admitted, the system of Christian doctrine presents itself with the precision and clearness of algebra. We must admire in it the connectedness and unity of a science. The existence of Christ from beginning to end is a tissue entirely mysterious, I admit; but that mystery meets difficulties which are in all existences. Reject it, the world is an enigma; accept it, and we have an admirable solution of the history of man.

“‘Christ never varies, never hesitates in His teaching; and His smallest affirmations are marked with the seal of a simplicity and a depth which captivate the ignorant and the educated alike. Nowhere else do you find that series of beautiful ideas, of beautiful moral maxims, which defile before us like the battalions of the celestial host, and which produce in our mind the same feeling as we experience in contemplating the infinite expanse of the heavens in a clear summer night, resplendent with all the brilliancy of the stars.

“‘Christ speaks, and henceforth generations belong to Him by bonds more close, more intimate than those of blood, by a union more sacred, more imperious than any other union beside. He kindles the flame of a love which kills out the love of self, and prevails over every other love. Without contradiction, the greatest miracle of Christ is the reign of love. All who believe sincerely in Him feel this love, wonderful, supernatural, supreme. It is a phenomenon inexplicable, impossible to reason and the power of man; a sacred fire given to the earth by this new Prometheus, of which time, the great destroyer, can neither exhaust the force nor terminate the duration. This is what I wonder at most of all, for I often think about it; and it is that which absolutely proves to me the divinity of Christ.’

“‘Here the voice of the Emperor assumed a peculiar accent of ironical melancholy and of profound sadness: ‘Yes, our existence has shone with all the splendour of the crown and sovereignty; and yours, Monthon, Bertrand, reflected that splendour, as the dome of the

Invalides, gilded by us, reflects the rays of the sun. But reverses have come, the gold is effaced little by little. The rain of misfortunes and outrages with which we are deluged every day carries away the last particles. We are only lead, gentlemen, and soon we shall be but dust. Such is the destiny of great men; such is the near destiny of the great Napoleon.

“What an abyss between my profound misery and the eternal reign of Christ, proclaimed, worshipped, beloved, adored, living throughout the whole universe! Is that to die? Is it not rather to live? Behold the death of Christ, and behold that of God!”

“The Emperor was silent; and as General Bertrand equally kept silence, the Emperor resumed, ‘If you do not understand that Jesus Christ is God, ah well! then I did wrong in making you a general!’”

ALEXANDER MAIR.

THE LANGUAGE AND METRE OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

A REPLY TO CRITICISM.

3. I HAVE, both in my essay and in this paper, shown that when the true glosses are discovered, the lines as a rule agree with the metrical canon; I will however quote a few more specimens before I proceed.

i. 6, *ρίζα σοφίας τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; καὶ τὰ πανουργήματα αὐτῆς τίς ἔγνω;* 7, *εἷς ἐστὶ σοφὸς φοβερὸς σφόδρα καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, Κύριος αὐτός.* 8, *ἔκτισεν αὐτήν, καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἐξηρίθμησεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐξέχεεν αὐτήν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.*

שרש חכמה אל מי נגלה
ותעלומותיה מי ידע

אחד הוא חכם נורא לחדא
ישב אל כסאו יהוה הוא
בראה וראה וספרה
ויסכנה על כל מעשיו

vii. 12, *μη ἀροτρία ψεύδος (evil, Syr.) ἐπ' ἀδελφῷ σου.*

אל תחרש רע על אחיך

vii. 13, *μη θέλε ψεύδεσθαι πᾶν ψεύδος· ὁ γὰρ ἐνδελεχισμὸς αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς ἀγαθόν.* Syr. and Æth. "the end of it," אחריתו for אחרתו,

אל תרצה לכזב כל כזב
כי אין אחריתו לטובה

vii. 18, *μνησθητι ὅτι ὁργή σου χρονιῇ, ὅτι ἐκδίκησις ἀσεβοῦς πῦρ καὶ σκώληξ.*

זכור כי חמה לא תאחר
כי נקמת חמא אש ורמה

xi. 19, *ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν εὗρον ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ νῦν φάγωμαι ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου.*

כאמרו מצאתי מנוחה
ועתה אכל מטובתי

x. 9, *τί ὑπερηφανεύεται γῇ καὶ σποδός; ὅτι ἐν ζῳῇ ἔρριψα τὰ ἐνδόσθια αὐτοῦ.* 10, *μακρὸν ὑρρώστημα κόπτει ἱατρός, καὶ βαιλεὺς σήμερον, καὶ αὔριον τελευτήσσει* (emended with the help of the Armenian and Syriac versions).

מה יתנאה עפר ואפר
אשר בחייו רמות בקרבו
ארץ מרעות וקצר רפואה
והיום מלך ומחר מת

When Prof. Driver asks why I do not give the induction on which my metrical theory is based, I should like to ask him how many lines constitute an induction. If *every line* in Ben-Sira must be naturally restored into this metre before he will believe in it, then indeed the case is lost; but previous discoverers of metrical laws have had no such hard conditions put to them, but, on the contrary, if they could show that any considerable number of lines of an author followed a law, this, it was thought, could not be accidental; for people can speak prose without knowing it, but can scarcely write verse without knowing it.

4. A decided trace of intentional versification consists in the *padding* of hemistichs, to give them the same number of words as the corresponding ones. So in a verse quoted

by Prof. Driver (xxviii. 6) *μνήσθητι τὰ ἔσχατα, καὶ παῦσαι ἔχθρας, καταφθορὰν καὶ θάνατον, καὶ ἔμμενε ἐντολαῖς*. Compare xviii. 25, xxv. 7, xxxvi. 5. Some verses have τέκνον prefixed, whereas most have not; if a number of syllables has to be observed, the reason of this insertion is very simple. Many a line of the Pand-nameh, a very similar book to Ecclesiasticus, is filled out with ای پسر, O son! In the Indian epics the insertion of a vocative is a very frequent method of filling a line.

The best tests of metre are lines containing enumerations, where the order will necessarily be guided by the metre, if there be one. Such lines are:

xxxix. 26, ἀρχὴ πάσης χρείας εἰς ζωὴν ἀνθρώπου,

ראשית כל צרך חיי אדם

ὕδωρ, πῦρ, καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ἄλλα,

מים אש וברזל ומלח

καὶ σεμίδαλις πυροῦ καὶ μέλι καὶ γάλα,

(Syr. and FAT and wheat)

וחלב חטה ודבש וחלב

αἶμα σταφυλῆς καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ἱμάτιον,

דם ענב ושמן ושמלה

This enumeration suits the metre exactly, except (perhaps) the ו before חלב; but this the symmetry shows to be an interpolation.

xxxix. 29, πῦρ καὶ χάλαζα καὶ λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος,

אש וברד וכפן ומות.

We have seen above that כפן was the form used.

It is to my mind unintelligible that the author should have inserted iron where he does in xxxix. 26, unless he had a number of syllables to complete.

xl. 9, θάνατος καὶ αἶμα καὶ ἔρις καὶ ρομφαία,

מות ודם וריב וחרב

ἐπαγωγὰι, λιμὸς καὶ σύντριμμα καὶ μαστιγ,

מכות כפן ושבר ושוט

xxxvii. 18, ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν, ζῶη καὶ θάνατος,

טוב ורע חיים ומות

xxix. 21, ἀρχὴ ζωῆς ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄρτος,

ראשית חיים מים ולחם

Under the head of *padding* must come the insertion of little words, which do not obviously affect the sense :

xxxviii. 1. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔκτισε ὁ Κύριος,

כי נם אלתו ברא יהוה

Where נם is supported by the Syriac also.

It seems to me impossible that this can be accidental ; but that the whole metrical theory has not been made out, I am willing to concede.

5. The variation that has been noticed above in common words between the Hebrew and Chaldee idiom has its easiest explanation in metrical necessity.

These then are the reasons which I allege for the belief that Ben-Sira wrote in metre ; and what have the critics to say against it ? "The quotations in the Talmud are not in metre," say Profs. Driver and Neubauer : but this is said without sufficient consideration ; for, unless these scholars count otherwise than I do, they must know that the Talmudic quotations are a strong argument in my favour. It would have been fairer to depreciate this evidence than to deny its existence. "The Psalms are not in metre." This does not affect the question, and if they are not when Ben-Sira is, the distance between the two will be all the greater. Yet no scholar, however great his authority, has a right to beg this question. This is positively all in the way of argument that I can find in their reviews.

VI.

Having, as I think, shown that my theory of Ben-Sira's language and metre is confirmed by far too many indica-

tions to be easily overthrown, I am not much concerned about the criticisms of detail that have been offered. I have nowhere suggested that I am unlikely to err, and shall be grateful for corrections which I can accept. Prof. Cheyne has abstained from desultory and fruitless cavils, for which gratitude is due to him. Prof. Driver has but rarely indulged in them; and if I abstain from answering such as he has made, perhaps generous readers will attribute this to my strong disinclination to controversy with him, and to my still cherishing the hope that I may some day have his co-operation in my work, which would profit very greatly by his unrivalled acquaintance with the niceties of Hebrew, his skill, and his caution. Dr. Neubauer's attack is in a different style; but there is an old saying that "he who digs a pit for his neighbour falls into it himself," of which his attack strongly reminds me.

I quote the word *ἀθάνατος* from xvii. 30, which I restore as *עלמי*, to show that Ben-Sira had a philosophical vocabulary, differing in formation from the Old Hebrew. My critic answers that *עלמית* is more common. Quite so, but as a *feminine* or as an *adverb*; and "the son of man" is not feminine, nor can an adverb be predicate of a sentence. "But Ben-Sira may have used *נצחי*." This too is a philosophical term of a new formation; so that my argument will be none the worse, only with *עלמי* the Syriac rendering is explicable, but not with *נצחי*.

Dr. Neubauer is not justified in stating that I introduce Sanskrit words into Ben-Sira. If no word that has a Sanskrit etymon may be admitted, it will go hard with my critic's *רמז*; for the etymon of that is more surely Sanskrit (*rahasya*) than the etymon of the other. I mention that a familiar Syriac and Chaldee word has an etymon in Sanskrit, to show how it comes to have the three meanings, *sense*, *motion*, and *activity*, which are required. But if *רנישה* be not the original of *ἐνέργησα*, some other word

must be represented by it; and that word will be as philosophical as the other, and the argument in consequence will be equally sound. For xii. 10, ὡς γὰρ ὁ χαλκὸς ἰούται οὕτως ἡ πονηρία αὐτοῦ, I restore כִּי כִנְחַשְׁתָּ תִשְׁחַת רְעוּתוֹ; my critic cavils at the pointing of תִשְׁחַת, but in this he has elsewhere been shown to be wrong. Moreover he thinks כִּי is required. I fancy, on the contrary, that כִּי כִנְחַשְׁתָּ רְעוּתוֹ would not be Hebrew, and that the omission of כִּי is required both by the grammar and the Syriac tradition. His remaining cavils are equally insignificant, and may well be neglected.

VII.

Being unable to find, then, in the observations of my critics any reason for altering any of the opinions expressed in the lecture referred to, I will venture to state how I intend to continue my work. It is most important to obtain, if possible, a complete critical apparatus; for many MSS. embody additions and corrections, and those which have been published are invariably of value; it is not unlikely that uncollated MSS. may contain yet more of these. Then the Æthiopic version should be printed; for this has some important readings (*e.g.* xxviii. 11, where κατασπενδομένη of Æth., for κατασπενδομένη, gives a certain clue for the restoration of the verse), and, besides, exists in two recensions. There would also appear to be some fragments of the Sahidic version in the Paris Library, which Lagarde has not collated in his valuable edition. The Armenian version has been shown elsewhere to supply some palmary emendations; and fresh study and repeated handling of each of these show their value to be greater than it at first appears. The rabbinic references and quotations are also very imperfectly collected, and these give a guidance with which it is impossible to dispense. The quotations in the Greek and Latin Fathers also deserve more study than has

hitherto been given them. Some of the other apocryphal books would also seem to have been composed in a similar dialect, and cross-references are likely to be helpful. A *complete* restoration of Ben-Sira is, of course, not to be hoped for, but enough may be made out to tell us what the language of Hebrew poetry in 200 B.C. was like; and (though here I have the misfortune to differ from so good an authority as Prof. Driver) I venture still to think that the accomplishment of this work may be of consequence for the Hebrew language and for biblical theology.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

NOTE.

By the courtesy of the editor of *THE EXPOSITOR*, I am permitted to make a few remarks on the subject of the preceding pages. If the criticisms that have been passed on the *Inaugural Lecture* of the Laudian Professor of Arabic should have no other effect than that of having induced him to publish the additional illustrations of his method and results contained in the last and present numbers of *THE EXPOSITOR*, they will not have been written in vain; for his future critics will assuredly be in a better position to judge of both than those who had only the *Lecture* to guide them. In particular, many, at any rate, of the very interesting collection of New Hebrew words (p. 301 ff.) recovered for Ben-Sira appear to be certainly correct; and the grounds on which the Professor bases his opinion of the metre of Ecclesiasticus are far more fully stated than was the case in his *Inaugural Lecture*.

On the subject of the metre, the real difficulty which I felt was the want of a sufficient reason for supposing that Ben-Sira would be likely to adopt it. It is admitted by most Hebrew scholars—and the Laudian Professor himself does not appear to judge differently (see *Inaug.*, p. 7)—that no part of the Old Testament has been satisfactorily shown to be written in strict metre; but until this has been done, or, in other words, until it has been proved that metre was a form in which ancient Hebrew poetry naturally found expression, it is difficult to understand what motive or inducement Ben-Sira could have had for adopting it. I grant of course that this *à priori* objection would be overcome by facts

establishing with sufficient clearness the contrary; but these did not appear to me to have been produced. The proportion of the lines quoted by the Rabbis agreeing with the metrical canon proposed did not seem to me to be greater than, considering the nature of the canon, and the form of many Hebrew words, could be attributed to accidental causes.¹ Nor, so far as I could judge, was there anything in the lines—as there would have been in an equal, or even in a smaller, proportion of iambs or hexameters—to show that their precise conformation was the result of design; and in some cases, as I thought, the metrical form prevented the best words and expressions being adopted in the restoration. These were the reasons which operated with me when I wrote my notice of the Professor's Inaugural Lecture in the *Oxford Magazine* of February 5th and 12th. In his present papers, as I am glad to see, the Professor has indicated more fully than he did before the inductions on which he founds his metrical canon. Whether these are sufficient to overcome the difficulties of which I was conscious I must leave others to consider: I feel that I have said on the subject as much as I have a right to say. But I readily allow, that if the Professor should succeed in restoring metrically a reasonably large proportion of Ben-Sira's verses, in idiomatic Hebrew, and without unduly deserting tradition, he would have gained a great point: for the possibility of metrical uniformity, on a considerable scale, once established, would tend to show that the uniformity itself was the result of design.

As regards the relative date of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, I think I may say that neither Professor Cheyne nor myself desired to maintain that they were "contemporary." Professor Cheyne expressly said otherwise. For my own part, though I said that, to judge from such linguistic evidence as was before me, they appeared to belong to the same period, I purposely avoided using the term "contemporary," because some of the words quoted from Ben-Sira by the Rabbis appeared to me to raise a presumption, though not quite a decisive presumption, that Ben-Sira's proverbs were later than Ecclesiastes. And of the words recovered

¹ What this proportion is, it must be left to the reader to ascertain for himself. Those who are not in the fortunate position of the Laudian Professor of being able to add to the quotations that have been observed by other scholars, must content themselves with those collected by Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, pp. 67–84, who cites something like fifty lines, agreeing more or less closely with those occurring in the extant book of Ecclesiasticus.

for Ben-Sira by the Laudian Professor (above, p. 301 ff.) there are some which materially confirm this presumption. Ecclesiastes contains many examples of words and usages common in the Mishnah, which otherwise occur either not at all in the Old Testament, or only in admittedly late books, such as Chronicles and Esther¹; and hence it must, I suppose, as is generally allowed, be assigned to the period when these idioms had begun to form. But I readily grant that the restorations of the Laudian Professor increase the probability that Ecclesiastes belongs to an earlier stage of this period than Ecclesiasticus, and tend to confirm the opinion that it may be assigned, as is done for instance by Professor Cheyne,² to the latter years of the Persian rule,³ and I willingly allow that the development of the rabbinic dialect, as it appears in Ben-Sira, is to a certain extent different—I cannot yet bring myself to say (p. 316) “*wholly* different”—from its development in Ecclesiastes. I only venture somewhat to doubt the argument based, p. 299 f., on the Targum to Ecclesiastes. For this Targum is very paraphrastic, and the terms there referred to occur not in word-for-word renderings of the text of Ecclesiastes, but in the *additions* of the Targumist, and usually introduce ideas neither contained nor implied in the text itself.⁴ Hence it seems to me precarious to argue, from their occurrence in the Targum, that they were not known to the author of

¹ See C. H. H. Wright's *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 488–500 (though these pages include some particulars to which the description in the text does not apply).

² *Job and Solomon*, pp. 256–258. On p. 181 of the same work the date of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus is conjecturally fixed at “about 180 B.C.” The late Dr. Edersheim placed it at “about 235 B.C. or earlier.”

³ But it remains, I suppose, a question how far, in what would seem to have been an age of transition, even contemporaries would use precisely the same proportion of the new words. For if Ecclesiastes be placed at a date which makes it approximately contemporary with (say) Chronicles or Esther, its style is still not the *same* as that of either of those two books; for while it shares some features in common with them, it also exhibits a decided Mishnic colouring, which these books do not display, and which (in the Old Testament) is peculiar to itself. And if Ecclesiastes be assigned to any earlier period, the difference between it and contemporary writings will be the greater.

⁴ See, for instance, the *good* and *evil inclination* in iii. 11; vii. 8, 19; ix. 14, 15; x. 1, 4, 10; *merit* in iv. 10, 12; v. 15; vi. 4; vii. 1, 15; viii. 14; ix. 14, 16; x. 19; xi. 3; the *third tongue* in x. 11. The case is similar mostly with קדש (p. 302), though this also represents occasionally a Hebrew expression; viz. חפץ (iii. 1, 17); דברה (iii. 18; viii. 2), דבר (vii. 8), and ל (xii. 4). But דבר, דבר, חפץ are not used in Aramaic; so that some translation in the case of these words was necessary.

Ecclesiastes, and could not have been used by him had he desired to express the ideas which they convey. I rather rest my inference on certain of the more characteristic words, occurring partly in the rabbinical quotations, partly in the verses restored by the Laudian Professor (while reserving my judgment, at least for the present, in the case of some amongst the latter). I hope also that I do not differ from the Professor on another point so widely as he seems from his concluding sentence to suppose; for I certainly think that, when his work is completed (which I trust may ere long be the case), he will have made both interesting and valuable additions to our knowledge of the Hebrew dialect spoken *circa* 200 B.C. The time however does not appear to me to be ripe for pronouncing an opinion on the degree in which his results will contribute to the more definite or secure solution of problems of the "higher criticism"; for the linguistic character of Ben-Sira's work can only be properly estimated when the restoration of a large part of it is complete, and when both the nature and the proportion of New Hebrew words recovered for it with certainty are exactly known.

S. R. DRIVER.

ONLY a few lines shall be added to Professor Driver's note. A statement on p. 297 seems to require re-examination. Most readers will certainly understand that Professor Delitzsch maintained the same view of the Hebrew quotations from Ben-Sira as Zunz. But as I read pp. 21 and 204 (cf. 181) of his work on Jewish poetry, this great Christian Talmudist held, not that Ben-Sira wrote "pure biblical Hebrew," but that his Hebrew presented many of those peculiarities which later on helped to form the idiom of rabbinism; in a word, that it was transitional, which is what we also thought to be the case. With regard to Professor Driver's explanations, I am delighted to have the opportunity of endorsing them, so far as they apply to anything that I have said or implied in my review. I thought that it was a complete restoration that was aimed at. I am happy to be assured of the contrary. I even hope that the restoration may be more complete than I had thought possible, and am certain that biblical critics will be at no loss to harmonize, as they have ever done, new data with old. Some at least of the New Hebrew words in the author's list fully satisfy my own judgment. I could wish

that so skilful a hand might some day give us as a *πρόεργον* the Psalms of Solomon in Hebrew, or indeed any other late Palestinian Jewish book only known to us in a translation. And if he only could prove his whole metrical theory (I fully appreciate his concession), I should be unfeignedly glad to argue backwards from it.

T. K. CHEYNE.

[AUTHOR'S NOTE TO P. 320, L. 19.—Prof. Driver's words were *about twenty aphorisms*. As several of these aphorisms are of more than one hemistich, my sentence might be so interpreted as to attribute to him an inaccuracy of which he was not really guilty.]

ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO ARREST JESUS.

(JOHN VII. 30-36, 40-52.)

I TAKE these two passages together, although the one precedes and the other follows our Lord's great discourse on the water of life, delivered on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, because I wish to bring into one view a very remarkable incident of that week—I mean the abortive attempt of the authorities to arrest our Lord.

In order to a clear understanding of this occurrence, which marks the opening of a fresh stage in the story, it is needful to notice carefully the relations of Jesus to the court of justice which was called the Sanhedrim.

That body was more, to be sure, than a court of justice. It was likewise the highest council of legislation and of administration in ecclesiastical matters. It was the most venerable relic which the Roman conquerors had left standing of the ancient national constitution of Israel. But in the gospels, the character in which we have to do with the Great Council is that of a judicial body, competent to try the highest causes, though not to execute its own

capital sentences. Various classes of causes fell under its jurisdiction:—grave public disorders or revolts, the misdemeanours of high priests, civil rights in which the public interest was touched, as well as charges of blasphemy and all claims to the prophetic or Messianic office. Of course the case of Jesus fell under one or other of the two last named. In effect, it fell under them both. Jesus notoriously claimed to be a prophet sent from God and armed with Divine authority to teach. Had He claimed no more than that, it would have been the duty of the Council to investigate His claims, and decide on the miraculous signs by which they were supported. It was the fact that He went on to call Himself more than a simple prophet, or even the Messiah—called Himself the Son of God, in some sense which inferred Divine origin and honour, it was this which ultimately raised the accusation on which He was arraigned into one of blasphemy. But at first it had appeared likely that the case would offer itself for judgment merely as one of prophetic signs. At the former festival, when the Bethesda cripple was cured, the circumstance which appeared to invalidate that cure as an evidence of a prophetic call was that it was effected on a Sabbath day; and had the case come at that stage under formal investigation, this is the shape which it would have assumed. In point of fact, however, that earlier miracle was never before the Sanhedrim at all. Informally or unofficially it exerted a most powerful and damaging influence upon the members of the Council. Most of them probably made up their minds at that date against the pretensions of the Nazarene prophet. Many of them began already to plot against Him; and the whole policy of the ruling class from that day onwards had been distinctly hostile. But this was personal prejudice, literally a prejudging of the case; for, down to this Festival of Tabernacles in October before His death, no charge against Jesus had

been formulated in the Council, nor had He ever stood as yet at its bar to be tried.

None the less it was a current expectation in Jerusalem that His re-appearance there would be promptly followed by His arrest. Hence His very first words were met by certain citizens with the remark: "Is not this He whom they are seeking to put to death? See! He is speaking boldly, and they say nothing to Him." Possibly it was the skill which our Lord had shown in timing His arrival, not, like other pilgrims, before the festival week opened, but in the middle of its course, which rendered it more difficult for the authorities to interfere with Him. The rule was that the Sanhedrim held a daily session; but an exception was always made to this rule on Sabbaths and high festivals. On such holidays the court did not sit. Probably this vacation covered the whole seven or eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles. In that case, no formal meeting could be legally summoned till after sundown on the eighth day of the feast. But although Jesus could not be tried till then, He might be apprehended; for during the intervals of the court, the leading officials must have possessed a certain responsibility for public order, with authority, if they saw cause, to arrest supposed offenders. I imagine it was by some such exercise of provisional authority that the officers of the court received their order to arrest Him. The Sanhedrim was a large body of fully seventy members, made up of various orders. The heads of the twenty-four classes into which the priesthood was arranged had seats *ex officiis*; so had the acting pontiff and all ex-high-priests. A second order comprised the so-called "elders," or civil heads of houses, who represented the old tribal princes. A third order was made up of chosen jurisconsults, or men learned in the sacred law, under the name of "Scribes" or rabbis. Now we find that the officers received their instructions from some of

the first named or priestly order of counsellors, who were as a rule Sadducees in belief, and from some of the last, who were as a rule Pharisees (ver. 32).

The order was given on the very day of our Lord's first appearance in the temple. It must have been late in the afternoon, because the step was not taken until the more active Pharisees, mingling with the throng of pilgrims, had time to observe how favourable was the impression which His words had created, and thereafter to concert measures with the leading members of the hierarchy. Obviously the suggestion emanated from the Pharisaic doctors, but was acquiesced in by the priestly officials who were more immediately responsible. Yet it was not so late in the afternoon when this was done, but the constables still found our Lord engaged in public discourse. No sooner had they joined the outskirts of the throng which hung upon His words than His quick eye saw them, and divined their object. Therefore, pausing in His address, He broke out on the instant into ready words, which were a virtual answer to the new step just taken by His adversaries. They were confident, and withal they were melancholy, words. Secure beneath Divine protection till His time should come, Jesus could say as He looked at the officers of justice on His track: "Yet a little while longer am I still to be among you"; but He instantly added, with that sharp prevision of early death which never failed Him, "then I go unto Him that sent Me!" It was not for Himself that this prospect awakened any alarm. For Himself it meant only release—the home-going of a home-sick Son. If even among us the pure of heart grow weary of earth, and turn with a frequent wistfulness to the home-stead of the pure, how much more must He have longed to spread His wings like a dove and be at rest! But a Saviour's heart carries without ceasing the burden of others' fate. The close of His life could only mean to His

unbelieving countrymen the close of their noblest opportunity and the loss of their best hope. It meant that they should be left without His word to guide, His arm to shield, who, if they had received Him, would have been more than a Moses in their extremity and more than a David against their enemies. "There comes a day," He mournfully adds (and He means, "you are in your folly hurrying it on"), "when you shall seek Me, your Messiah, and shall not find Me: for where I am going ye cannot come." Like so many of our Lord's suggestive sayings, this language wears an air of obscurity, which veiled its meaning from the frivolous or prejudiced minds that did not care to understand. But from the comments and foolish guesses of His audience, one gathers with what impressiveness these few touching words must have been uttered.

Thus closed in sadness the evening of that first day of His appearance in the temple, 15th or 16th of October (according to Caspari). How the time was spent till the 19th or 20th, when the festival ended, we do not know. Very likely the fragment which tells us that the Lord's nightly place of refuge was the Mount of Olives, and His daily place of resort the temple court (vii. 53-viii. 1), describes the situation correctly enough. But if so, the officers must have hung about His audiences day after day in search of a favourable chance to do their office. At last came the morning of the last and great day when, at the drawing of Siloam water, Jesus startled the throng and made the wide area ring with His wonderful self-witness: "Come unto Me, and drink." Possibly these few words were no more than the opening or the burden of a long discourse. Possibly, too, they were left unexplained in startling brevity and obscurity in order to stimulate inquiry. At any rate, they did not fall in vain. Although it was the time for pilgrims to break up their encampments and make preparations for

leaving, still in every booth the wonderful Prophet was the single theme of conversation. With His singular claims discussion was no less busy than ever, and the opinion of the people was no less divided. Nay, the evangelist permits us to see that on this closing day the controversy over Jesus' pretensions had grown hotter than ever, and that His partisans were both more numerous and more confident than on the day of His first appearance. On that first occasion, the loudest voices had been theirs who shouted, "Thou hast a devil," or theirs who boasted, "We know this fellow whence He comes." Then the well-disposed from Galilee and elsewhere, overborne by the local opinion of the capital, had ventured only such a remonstrance as this: "When the Messiah does appear, will he do more signs than those which up in the north we have seen this Man perform?" Now, however, under the cumulative impression of four days' teaching, the friendly voices are in the ascendant. The least bold of His favourers urge that at the lowest He must surely be the expected Prophet who was to herald Messiah's advent. Others more daring bluntly asserted, "He is Himself the Messiah." No doubt while the well-disposed were thus divided in opinion, there was not wanting a different class to insinuate doubts by bringing up afresh the usual mistake about His birthplace. It is clear that the presumed Galilæan nativity of One who was best known as the Man of Nazareth told heavily against His acceptance with the people, as we shall soon find it urged to His disadvantage by the rabbis as well; for few points in Messianic prediction were more firmly established or more widely understood than this, that the Christ, as a descendant of Bethlehem's royal townsman, should Himself be born in Bethlehem. Those who raised this objection were probably honest though ignorant doubters, and they had some excuse for their hesitation. There was still however a party in the crowd, though overborne for the

moment, who wanted not will, had they only dared, to arrest Him on the spot. But it shows how completely the prevailing sentiment ran in His favour that day, that, not only did none of these zealots lay on Him an unauthorized hand, not even the officers told off on duty for the very purpose had the heart to execute their errand.

From that heated oriental crowd which thronged the pavement of the sacred courts in noisy, loud debate beneath the open sky, we are next carried into the solemn council chamber hard by, where at length, the sacred season over, a hurried session had been convened to try the Prophet. The high priest was the usual president. The members sat around in a semi-circle; the officers were in attendance. No other business intervened to damp the eagerness of the bigoted party, those most hostile to Jesus, at whose instance the warrant had been issued. One hears their cry of disappointment: "Why have ye not brought Him?" Is there not something quite extraordinary about this Man? Not only has He turned the people on His side, the spell of His words has fallen likewise on the very constables. Compelled by their duty to keep for days within earshot of Him, these rough fellows are somehow disarmed by the mingled sweetness and majesty of His discourses, or—shall we say?—by the superhuman pathos and purity of His demeanour! Perhaps by both. His solemn, tender words of searching spirituality, enforced by the charm of a personality wholly unearthly, because sinless, had touched their hearts. A new-born enthusiasm for the Prophet contends with their professional fear to offend their masters, and prevails. No; they can better brave the court's displeasure than the face and the words of that Speaker. On Him they can lay no hand. "Never did a man speak like this One."

The history of Christendom has echoed the testimony extorted from these poor fellows' lips. The spell of Jesus

has been laid upon many a heart since then : on many a gentler and more susceptible heart than theirs, and also upon many rude and dark and evil ones, which it has charmed into mildness and obedience. We too will be sure to feel it, if, with open minds, we subject ourselves to His influence, listen to His teaching, or draw near enough to sit day after day at His gentle feet. Nothing so Divine is to be met with anywhere else, no words so spiritual or so living, no personal character so divinely high in its unselfishness and piety. The road to the heart of Christianity lies in steady familiarity with Christ Himself. "To whom else can we go?" said Peter, after two years of fellowship; "Thou hast the words of life eternal!" After two days only of listening said these men, "Never spake any man like Him!"

It was easy for the councillors, balked of their prey, to browbeat the messengers; easy to taunt them with being silly, ignorant fellows, readily gulled by an impostor. Nor do I know in literature any words which better condense the scorn and conceit which characterize all priestly and privileged orders in their decline than these of the angry Pharisees: "Are ye also led astray? Has any one of the rulers believed on Him, or any one of the Pharisees? But this multitude—this crowd of common people—knowing nothing of the law, are accursed!" It positively makes one shudder to hear such language from lips that professed to be the most pious as well as the most scholarly in Israel! Words more diabolic are hardly on record; certainly no words more saturated with the hierarchical temper! Is this what comes of sacred castes, and guilds which monopolize religious learning and privilege? this full-blown arrogance? this bitter scorn of common men? Alas, yes! I suppose it is. If there is anything human nature cannot bear without deterioration, it is to be a monopolist—of profit, of power, of honour; but there is

one monopoly worse than any of these: it is the presumed monopoly of the favour of the Almighty and of the knowledge of His ways. Let us be right thankful that Christ has for ever abolished in His kingdom the system of *privilege* which wrought such mischief before He came, and has planted here among men a city of God's grace which stands foursquare, and has a gate that is open to every comer from the four quarters of the globe!

But what was to be done? When their anger was spent, it must have grown clear that for the present nothing more could be done. Only the language used in the debate by the fanatical anti-Jesus party made it equally clear that they looked already upon His guilt as a settled question, and that they were prepared to go any length against Him. Now no large body of responsible and experienced men of affairs ever existed which did not number a certain proportion with cool enough heads and fair enough tempers to see that this was the grossest possible violation of justice and even of decency. It was condemning a man before he had been so much as put upon his trial. How many honourable men there were in the Sanhedrim whom the violence of their colleagues outraged, we do not know: possibly a larger number than we have been accustomed to assume. At any rate their views found one—and only one—timid exponent. The same aged councillor who two years before had ventured to interview the young prophet at the very outset of His mission, and who in six short months more was to assist at the burial of His dead body, he was the man among the secret favourers of the Galilæan to interpose a modest *caveat*. No remonstrance could have been more mild; yet such was the rawness and exasperation of the majority, that they turned even on their venerable colleague almost with fury, at least with insolence. They roundly accused him of sympathy with the new Galilæan sect, and with ill-mannered words sent him to the Scriptures to find

out if ever a prophet had come out of Galilee. Unluckily for their own credit, they were too angry to be quite accurate. Otherwise they might have recollected that Jonah of Gath-hepher had been a Galilæan. But what mattered a trifling error of memory when the mouth of a troublesome objector was to be stopped?

The whole scene is extremely painful. It is pitiable, as well as scandalous, to see the graybeards of the State, men clothed with high office, so far forget themselves through the blinding influence of fanatical passion. But for the moment (and this is the important point) the danger had passed. To the precious life of our Redeemer was granted a brief respite, for yet more deeds of mercy, yet more words of truth. Even Jerusalem and its neighbourhood was still comparatively safe ground for a couple of months to come. So perplexed had now become the position of the authorities, that they were not at all likely at present to attempt His arrest again. Hence we find Him next morning calmly pursuing His work in the temple court as if nothing had transpired, nor did He finally quit the vicinity of the capital till after the middle of December.

Safe in the presence of plots, calm in the midst of passions, how perfect an illustration does our blessed Lord afford of that beatitude of the upright man :

“Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace,
Whose mind is stayed on Thee:
Because he trusteth in Thee.”
“He shall cover thee with His feathers,
And under His wings shalt thou trust:
His truth shall be thy shield and buckler.”

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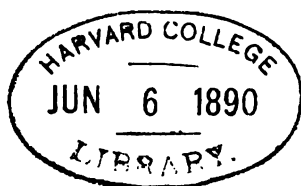
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DEMETRIUS THE SILVERSMITH.

AN EPHESIAN STUDY.

THE name of Mr. J. T. Wood, whose death was lately announced, will ever be associated with the discovery of the temple of Ephesian Artemis. From her precinct, and from the theatre, he recovered not only important architectural remains, but also a number of inscribed marbles, which are now safely housed in the British Museum. A provisional text of most of these documents formed the most valuable portion of his bulky volume on *Ephesus*, published in 1877.

Students of Roman provincial government perused these documents with great interest, and scholars like Mommsen and Waddington have made them yield important historical results. Not less eagerly did the theologian approach them, hoping to glean new data for the criticism of early Christian history and literature. Thus in the following spring (May, 1878), an article by the late Bishop Lightfoot appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, in which, with his usual clearness, he showed how Mr. Wood's discoveries confirm the narrative of the Acts. The official language of decrees and dedications, the titles of magistrates and priests, the place filled by Artemis in Ephesian thought and life, all these, it is pointed out, verify to the letter the story of St. Paul's Ephesian labours.

It has fallen to my task to re-edit, for the trustees of the Museum, the whole of the marbles brought home by Mr. Wood. Many of these were unpublished; many more came to the Museum in fragments, and have been recom-

bined so far as my patience and skill permitted. The result of my labours will shortly see the light as Part III. of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (section 2). In the meantime I wish to submit to public judgment one discovery which will, I think, be of interest to students of the New Testament.

I.

One of Wood's marbles¹ exhibits a list of Ephesian citizens, arranged according to their tribes, two from each tribe. It was already known that the body-politic was divided into six tribes; this document acquaints us with their names and their order. Further, each tribe was subdivided into a number of *chiliastyes* or "thousands"; and accordingly, in this catalogue, after each citizen's name and the name of his father, is added the name of his thousand. Only one name is wanting, through a break at the foot of the stelè; it is the name of the twelfth citizen, the second member of the sixth tribe. One thing is clear: we have here an official list of a board of magistrates, representatives of the whole body of citizens. It had been suggested² that the list was a list of the *prytanes*, or presidents of the public assembly; but this conjecture proves to be mistaken. I was so fortunate as to discover, among the many Ephesian fragments brought by Mr. Wood, a small portion of a beautifully sculptured cornice, which clearly had once adorned the upper left-hand corner of an inscribed stelè or pillar; for indeed the commencement of an inscription was legible upon the fragment. This fragment of cornice I placed upon the monument described above, and it was at once evident that the two marbles formed parts of the same original monument, and that by their reunion I had recovered the heading of the inscription. What was

¹ *Inscriptions from the Augusteum*, 1.

² By Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint*, etc., p. 26.

more, though the lines of the heading were incomplete through fracture, yet no reasonable doubt remained but that they read originally as follows: *The senate and people do public honour to those who served as temple-wardens during the prytany of ———, in the year of Demetrius.* Then follows the catalogue of names, as already described, beginning thus :

1. *Of the Ephesine Tribe :*

Demetrius, son of Menophilus, son of Tryphon, of the Thousand Boreis ; Thoas, son of Dracontomenes, of the Thousand Oinopes.

2. *Of the Augustan Tribe :*

(And so on).

Our list then is a list of temple-wardens (*νεοποιοί*),¹ and at the head of the list stands a certain Demetrius. He belongs to that tribe which takes precedence of all the others because it claims the greatest antiquity and the purest Ephesian blood—*φυλή Ἐφεσίων*, the “Ephesine Tribe.” Thus it precedes even the Augustan Tribe (*φυλή Σεβαστῆς*), which had been added in honour of Augustus, and which accordingly takes precedence of all the tribes save the Ephesine. Moreover, the name of Demetrius stands before that of his colleague Thoas, the other representative of the leading tribe, so that this whole board of temple-wardens is styled “the board of Demetrius’ year.” From the prominence of his twice-repeated name it seems safe to infer that he presided at meetings of the board as *primus inter pares*, either as senior member of the leading tribe, or by vote of his colleagues.

As for the name Demetrius, it is common enough : derived simply from the goddess Demeter, it had no special significance, no local colour, and the career of the “Taker of Cities” had given it world-wide currency. At Ephesus the name was not uncommon ; it is found at least thrice

¹ *Νεοποιοί* for *νεωποιοί* or *νεωποῖαι* was an established vulgarity.

as a magistrate's name on Ephesian coins of the first three centuries B.C.¹ It is not of frequent occurrence in Ephesian documents of the imperial time, and it is at least interesting to the student of the Acts to come upon it in so important a connexion in this Ephesian stelè.

Thus far we are on solid ground. But the thought inevitably occurred, Has this Demetrius the temple-warden anything to do with the Demetrius of Acts xix.? He must be indeed a tiro who would allow such a fancy to influence his judgment. A little experience soon convinces us that Greek archæology gives most light just where literature and history are blank. Even where historical record is the fullest and contemporaneous inscriptions most abound, as at Athens, the student is inclined to wonder not how often, but how seldom, the narratives of Thucydides and Xenophon overlap and coincide with the epigraphic records. Archæology more often supplements than confirms history. It either speaks where history is silent, or, if it speaks of the same person or event, it speaks in so different a relation and with so novel a voice, that the historical imagination, tempered by severe criticism, must be called into play before the real connexion and harmony between the written history and the archæological evidence can be apprehended. But when this adjustment has taken place, when the whole of the evidence, monumental and literary, has been focussed (so to speak) upon the event or personage under discussion, the result is a vividness of realization, a certainty of conviction which no other means can attain.

Accordingly, with due scientific caution, I brushed away, as a cobweb of the brain, the idea of connecting the Demetrius of my inscription with his namesake of the Acts, and proceeded to inquire into the date of the monument. That date must be determined by indirect evidence alone. I cannot reproduce here all the reasons which lead me to

¹ Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*.

assign the document to the latter half of the first century A.D. They will appear shortly in my larger work on the Ephesian marbles. Some arguments however, which I have allowed less place in my commentary, I am the more willing to mention here. For example, an inspection of the marble shows that it has been rudely dealt with, and that (it would seem) in ancient times. An inscription of the second century A.D. occupies one of the sides (*B*), the right return of the inscribed front *A*, engraved in letters very different from the list of temple-wardens. So different indeed are they, as to betray a different age and an altered style of art. The plain, square, Roman-like characters of *B* belong to the age of the Antonines, *i.e.* 140–200 A.D., about a century later than what I conceive to be the date of *A*. The subject of *B* is an *ex-voto* to Artemis, of a type very common in the second century: "I give thanks to thee, O Lady Artemis, I, Caius Scaptius Frontinus, a temple-warden and a senator, together with my wife, Herennia Autronia, upon serving as an *essên* with integrity and piety," etc. (Εὐχαριστῶ σοι κυρία "Αρτεμι, Γ. Σκάπτιος Φροντείνος, νεο-ποιός, βουλευτής, σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου Ἑρεννία Αὐτρωνία, ἐσσηνεύσας ἀγνῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς).

The two inscriptions have no connexion with each other; they not only differ in style and date, but also one is a public and the other a private monument. I take it that Scaptius Frontinus simply appropriated to his use a stèle already set up within the sacred precinct. Such appropriation was very common at Ephesus, as the marbles prove, in the second century. The prevailing poverty of Greece was the motive and excuse for it. Thus Dio Chrysostom, in his *Rhodian Oration*, twits the Rhodians upon their new way of paying old debts; they make old honorary statues serve for fresh men, by simply altering the name below. But in truth, to the men of the second century the first century seemed like a distant past: a deluge had swept away the

divine glories of the Julian house, and a new era—more prosaic, but more prosperous—had begun with the *gens* Flavia. To a Tacitus, to a Juvenal, the times of Tiberius or of Nero seemed as the memories of a bad dream. These changed conditions, which are a commonplace of historical writers, find their reflex in the styles of the monuments, in the very shaping of letters. And our monument is no exception. The characters of the Demetrius-list on *A*, though lacking the delicate firmness of earlier days, yet have about them a certain elegance which reminds us at least of the Augustan age; and this impression is confirmed by the rich yet graceful design of the cornice above. But in the centre of the older inscription a hole some two inches deep has been drilled, and in the back of the marble a similar hole appears. A glance serves to show that the stelè was early diverted from its original purpose, and perhaps moved from its original position. It became probably one of a series of marble posts, connected together by bars of iron or bronze, to form a fence or inclosure. The original front thus became a mere subordinate flank, pierced to receive a bar; and what had been a blank side of the stone was now the front, ready to receive the dedicatory inscription of Scaptius Frontinus. The name of the dedicatory suggests a further argument for the date alleged for the earlier inscription. In the list of temple-wardens, to each of whose own names the name of the father and often of the grandfather is appended, there occur in all twenty-nine names, and not one is Roman, each is purely Greek. On the contrary, in Ephesian documents of the second and later centuries Roman names become perpetually mixed with Greek, and the citizens of Ephesus, like Scaptius Frontinus, have very commonly Latin names.

Not to pursue the evidence further, there is nothing in the date of the inscription to discourage the conjecture that Demetrius the temple-warden may have been the Deme-

trius of the Acts who opposed St. Paul in the year 57 A.D. There is nothing indeed specially to confirm the conjecture; it must remain a conjecture to the end. But I shall endeavour now to show that, assuming the identification to be correct, the information afforded by the inscription explains in several important particulars the narrative of the Acts.

II.

The narrative, as it stands, represents the riot as having its origin in the fear of Demetrius for his trade: "Our craft is in danger." He is a silversmith, with many artisans in his employ; these he calls together, and assures them that the success of Paul means an end of their trade, for that his doctrine involved the nullity of graven images. It is true that Demetrius goes on to appeal to another motive of a less personal and selfish kind; he adjures his hearers to rally round the goddess "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth," and whose glory was threatened by the new teaching. But this appeal is represented as only subordinate to the other; the primary motive with him and his craftsmen is fear for a threatened trade. There is nothing unlikely in this. Few things are so sensitive of approaching danger as a vested interest; nothing combines men so promptly and compactly in self-defence. The incident of Ephesus has been repeated many times since then—as at this moment in the organization of the liquor-dealers in opposition to the temperance propaganda. But the action of Demetrius appears in a new and far more significant light, if he really was (as I take him to be) the Demetrius of the inscription, and if the honour therein voted to him and his colleagues by the senate and people of Ephesus was in recognition of the services rendered by him and them on behalf of the national goddess.

We may therefore interpret the movement as really origi-

nating with the temple-priesthood.¹ None would keep a closer watch upon St. Paul than they. None would more jealously note the results and tendencies of his teaching. They had indeed little or no hostility to him as a Jew. Jews in abundance there were at Ephesus, living under special protection of the imperial and the local government.² For many generations the Jews of the Dispersion had learned how to accommodate themselves to the heathen society around. A mutual toleration was quite acknowledged. At Iasos, early in the second century B.C., a Jew (*Νικήτας Ἰάσονος Ἱεροσολυμίτης*—Le Bas, No. 294) is named in a list of subscribers to the repair of the city theatre. Much the same state of things prevailed at Ephesus, as Josephus attests. It is probable that Alexander the Jew, who attempted to address the Ephesian mob, is to be identified with "Alexander the coppersmith," the renegade Christian Jew, who "did much evil" afterwards to St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 20, 2 Tim. iv. 14); he was almost certainly one of the artisans employed in the workshops of Demetrius. What Alexander desired in the theatre was, without doubt, to clear himself and his fellow Jews from any complicity with St. Paul. Alexander and his countrymen at Ephesus were, in fact, playing the same part against St. Paul which the Jews of Smyrna so cruelly enacted against St. Polycarp hardly a century later. It is true that, when the populace saw that Alexander was a Jew, they refused him a hearing. For a Jew, though tolerated by law, and even respected for his wealth and for his strange religious lore, yet was no general favourite; and now that the Ephesian mob was charged with the electricity of

¹ This suggestion is made by Zimmermann, *Ephesus*; but he has no evidence to support the conjecture.

² Mr. Wood did not succeed in discovering the Jewish cemetery at Ephesus (*Ephesus*, p. 125); but he excavated two Jewish tombstones, in one of which Jew is termed ἀρχιτεκτον: in both, the Jewish community at Ephesus is made the trustee of the tomb.

patriotic and religious fervour, the sight of a Jew daring to address them in their theatre was just the stimulus to create an explosion. Thus the storm which had threatened St. Paul now burst upon the head of Alexander: "When they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice for the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians." But ordinarily the Jew lived quite peaceably among the Gentiles; and, indeed, to the tolerant polytheist, the reverence of the Jew for his far-off temple, the deputation (*theoplia*) to Jerusalem for festival and sacrifice, and other rules of Jewish devotion, must have presented analogies to Greek ritual, which made the *concordat* the easier.

The case of St. Paul however was widely different. He preached in the lecture-room of Tyrannus, not as a Jew, but as a sophist, a philosopher. It was a time of widespread religious inquiry; and while the blind superstition of the masses and the official rule of the State continued to crowd the courts of the Artemision with worshippers, there were many, especially of the more thoughtful and leisured class, to whom the Artemis-worship seemed but the relic of a dying system, and who were quite ready to listen to this strange new-comer, with his ascetic life, his sublime ethical theory, and his new views of life and death. It is not sufficiently remembered also that every religious system has its sincere and spiritual votaries. Under all forms of worship there remain the unchanging needs and aspirations of man. Among the most earnest worshippers of Artemis were those who would be the first to embrace a more spiritual religion. And at a period when the traditional beliefs were greatly undermined, these earnest and devout spirits were the very life-blood of the old system. From these, apart from the stated festivals and public sacrifices, came the most frequent attendance at the temple, the richest offerings, the costliest dedications. No class of worshipper could paganism less afford to lose; and yet it was precisely these who gradually

would be attracted by the deeper doctrines of the Cross. We can imagine how tenderly and wisely that sympathetic teacher, who became all things to all men, would deal with these earnest inquirers from the very heart of paganism; and how, without one harsh word against Artemis, he would for ever detach them from her worship. The loss of even a few such individuals and families would be keenly felt and resented by the hierarchy of the Artemision.

Another religious influence was also at work, which has only of late been estimated aright as a *præparatio evangelica*. Everywhere through the Græco-Roman world one universal religion, having the advantage of rich endowments and perfect organization, had been steadily propagated by the ruling powers, and was rooted as deeply in the grateful affection as in the fears of the subject masses,—the cultus of the Cæsars. This religion, universal, intelligible, with its splendour of recurrent festivals, with its frequent anniversaries of birthdays and accession days, with its very tangible rewards and no less sensible sanctions of fear, was effectually undermining the old local worships. Already at Ephesus a temple of the Augusti had been reared within the precinct of Artemis herself, and the title which Ephesus had once claimed with such a proud humility, *Νεωκόπος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* ("temple-sweeper, or sacristan, of Artemis"), was all but extinct: in official language, on coins and inscriptions, Ephesus is "Sacristan of the Augusti." At a somewhat later date the worship of the Cæsars, which at present gave a certain negative help to the gospel by sapping the traditional polytheism, became positively hostile to Christianity. It could not brook the refusal of the Christian to pay divine homage to Cæsar; and the Christian who refused, was punished, not as a heretic in religion, but as a traitor to the throne.

I have been frequently asked, as a student of Ephesian antiquities, what I thought of Mr. Long's *Diana or Christ*.

Opinions may differ as to the merits of that celebrated picture as a work of art; and its archæology is rather difficult to criticise, because I do not know what date the painter had in view. As however the Artemision was burned down by the Goths in the year A.D. 262, we may suppose the picture intended to represent a possible incident of the first two centuries and a half. If so, the situation is untrue to fact. The Roman proconsul is represented as threatening an Ephesian maiden with death for refusing worship to Artemis. I am not aware of any Roman law to compel man or woman to worship Ephesian Artemis. If any Ephesian woman refused to worship the goddess, and the Ephesian authorities had made this (which is absurd) a matter of accusation before the Roman proconsul, he would have driven them from the judgment seat with no less contempt than Gallio showed to the accusers of St. Paul at Corinth. As a matter of fact, the attitude of the Roman governors towards the local cults was much the same as that of the English Government towards the polytheism of India; it was an attitude of politic toleration, of patronage outwardly the more cordial because it concealed a secret contempt. From this point of view it is interesting to learn that the only influential "friends" of St. Paul at Ephesus were "certain of the Asiarchs." Now, while there are some points in the use of this title which are still under discussion, one fact is absolutely certain. "Asiarch" was a title given to those citizens, and those only, who had presided over and contributed largely to the festivals and games held in honour of the Cæsars by the provincial league organized for the Cæsar-worship.¹ In other words, at the moment of extreme crisis, when St. Paul is in danger of being torn in pieces by the devotees of Artemis, pressure is put upon him by certain influential citizens, who were notable supporters

¹ See Bishop Lightfoot on the Asiarchate, in his *Ignatius*, ii. 987 ff.

of the Cæsar-worship, "not to adventure himself into the theatre"; and their friendly intervention saved his life.

So far then every detail falls into its place, and we can perfectly understand the attitude of the temple authorities towards St. Paul. Long before any falling off could be perceived in the demand for images of Artemis, long before the gospel had thinned her crowd of pilgrims, the hierarchy would be sensible of the apostle's influence. Some of their most devout supporters had left them; what was worse, they made no secret of the reason. They were zealous in persuading others to do the same. The lecture-room of St. Paul was crowded daily; philosophic student, oriental mystic, inquisitive Greek, all found the teacher interesting, impressive. To some he was convincing; through him they were admitted into a new world of ideas, became sharers in unutterable hopes. We may suppose that the jealousy of the priests only waited for an opportunity of attacking the apostle. But what could they do? He had infringed no law; he had been guilty of no sacrilege, no impiety; the rigid impartiality of the Roman rule gave them no encouragement. St. Paul had used the liberty allowed to every rhetorician or philosopher, to every charlatan (to an Apollonius of Tyana as well as a Dio Chrysostom) to instruct his scholars by tongue or pen. Legally then St. Paul's position was unassailable, and the temple authorities, if they wished to attack him, must do so indirectly. Our inscription helps us to understand precisely the plan they adopted.

The topography of Ephesus was peculiar;¹ the famous temple, as we now know, was not within the city walls, but lay about a mile to the N.E. of the town, under a hill-fort now called Aiasluk. From early times, especially under Persian rule, the priesthood of the Artemision had enjoyed an influence which rivalled, and sometimes overshadowed,

¹ See E. Curtius's *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, and Mr. Wood's book and maps.

the civic authorities: in fact, this dual organization is the key to Ephesian history. But no semblance of rivalry between temple and city was possible now: all authority everywhere in the world was controlled, overawed, reduced to a tame and uniform level by the omnipotence of Cæsar. Under the empire the temple became the chief glory of the town, its worship a chief source of profit. All the world flocked to the shrine, and the worship of Ephesian Artemis was carried back by pilgrims to every region round the Mediterranean. And accordingly, as the temple held so large a place in the thoughts of all Ephesus, a board of twelve citizens, annually elected, two from each tribe, acted as *neopoioi*. They were the churchwardens of the temple, they were the lay guardians of the sacred fabric; they had general charge of its treasures and its ornaments. They were the representatives of the whole city in its interest in the Artemision. Chosen as they were from each subdivision of the citizens, they were completely in touch with the whole population, with every part of Ephesian society. The importance of this board we may infer, not only from its frequent mention in Ephesian documents, but also from the important functions discharged by similar boards in neighbouring cities.¹ If any men were qualified to organize an attack upon St. Paul, assuredly it was the board of *neopoioi*, a body at once ecclesiastical and civil, concerned intimately with the temple worship, yet drawn from amid the ranks of the citizens. Of this board Demetrius—as our inscription indicates—is the chairman. He is himself the link between the temple and the municipality. He is a wealthy burgess, the head of a thriving firm; his personal influence is therefore great among the commercial classes of Ephesus. We may safely assume that his colleagues on the board were men of a some-

¹ For the *neopoioi* of Iasos, see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii., 1887, p. 105; for those of Samos, see *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäol. Institutes* ix., 1884, p. 259; and so in many other cities.

what similar stamp. What more easy than for these men to organize a demonstration against the apostle? Legal charge (as the town-clerk afterwards reminded them) they had none to bring. But they had whole masses of the population at their back; they could bring together at will, precisely those in whom reverence for Artemis was as much a part of patriotism as of religion. A meeting is convened by Demetrius—a meeting avowedly of his own workpeople, and of those engaged in kindred trades.¹ He appeals first to their trade interests, and soon proceeds to work upon their fanaticism. His line of conduct is precisely what we should expect, if he was throughout the agent of the temple authorities. Moreover the suddenness with which the excitement spread and crowds gathered, until the meeting became a demonstration, and a vast and tumultuous throng rushed and filled the great theatre, all becomes perfectly natural if we suppose Demetrius to have acted in concert with his brother *neopoioi*. Much may be explained by the combustible temper of this half-oriental population; possibly too the riot occurred at festival-time, when the city was full of pilgrims, for the “great Artemisian games” took place in the month Artemision (= March), and the chronology of the Acts suggests the spring of A.D. 57 for this tumult; but we feel, as we read the Acts, that the concourse of rioters can hardly have been as fortuitous as it seemed to the narrator; there must have been some motive force behind. That force we find in the influence of the temple-wardens co-operating with Demetrius, organizing opposition in various quarters, and bringing it to bear at a preconcerted date and place, in one grand demonstration.

¹ Knowing how widely trade-guilds were spread over the Græco-Roman world, and especially in Asia Minor, I have often thought that Demetrius' meeting was a meeting of a trade-guild or guilds. The very word *ἐργασία* (Acts xix. 24, 25) was often used for a “guild.” We find at Ephesus a guild of cloth-workers: *συνεργασία λινάριων* (Wood, *Appendix*); but I have no evidence of a guild of metal-workers.

III.

Is there anything to confirm this identification of Demetrius? I think the text of the Acts supplies one unexpected piece of evidence, and this in a way which affords a curious glimpse into the literary method of its author.

That authorship indeed has been vigorously disputed. Criticism however, it is now generally agreed, has brought the issue within very narrow limits. All allow that the author of the third gospel was the author of Acts also. Nor will any one deny that the germ of the Acts is to be sought in what are called the "We-sections." These are without question the memoranda of a companion of St. Paul: whatever materials besides, written or traditional, may have been employed by the author of the Acts, and whatever value we may assign to them, the "We-sections" at all events bear the stamp of immediate and authentic testimony. It is also now agreed that the "We-sections," though easily disengaged from the connecting narrative, yet reveal no difference of style or diction. The impression is forced upon us, the oftener we read the book, that the whole of it, including the "We-sections," is the work of a single hand and mind. In explanation of these phenomena only two alternatives are possible:

1. The traditional view, which I decidedly share, that the "We-sections" are from the diary of St. Luke, who works them into the narrative he is composing. This is an obvious explanation of the general uniformity of style, and it perfectly accounts for the use of the first person in the "We-sections."

2. The alternative view, which is forced upon those who wish to lower the data of the composition, is, that the author of Acts is not the original author of the "We-sections." These sections (which are derived from the pen

of Titus or some other friend of St. Paul) are merely some among many literary materials employed by the compiler. The compiler however was a writer of great skill, who allowed himself much freedom in handling his materials; so much so, that whatever unevenness or contrasts existed in the style of his original *Quellen*, they all received in his hands a new literary form and were stamped with his uniform style. Ingenious and suggestive as is this hypothesis, it labours under one obvious difficulty. If the author claimed so free a hand in recasting his materials, if he was so accomplished a literary artist, how is it that, whereas he took pains to rewrite the "We-sections" so completely as to obliterate every original characteristic of style, he yet was so clumsy as to let the first person remain in awkward contrast to the rest of the narrative?

Let me then assume that the author was St. Luke, and that in the "We-sections" he is merely working into his narrative, unaltered, passages from his own missionary diary.

Now the narrative of Acts xix. is not one of the "We-sections." St. Luke was not at Ephesus with St. Paul. That is to say, St. Luke is here basing his narrative upon the statements and records of other men. But so vivid is the narrative at this point, so strong the stamp of authentic detail, that we need not doubt that St. Luke had before him the writing of an eyewitness who was at Ephesus at that time. Is it possible at all to recover this original document, and to see how the historian used it, what license he allowed himself in the expanding, altering, and working up of his material?

I think our Ephesian inscription affords an indication of his method. The example indeed is a slight one, but it is significant, and (unless I am mistaken) it will clear up a difficulty in the narrative which has never been met.

The narrative, as it stands, describes Demetrius as a "silversmith, who made silver shrines for Diana." It is

stated, or at least implied, that these shrines were in large demand, and formed the staple of his trade. What were these shrines? St. Chrysostom's comment on the text is, *καὶ πῶς ἐνὶ ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς γενέσθαι ; ἴσως ὡς κιβώρια μικρά :* "and how is it possible for shrines (temples) to be made of silver? Perhaps they were really small shelves, or caskets." The fact is, that St. Chrysostom's question has never been answered, and his own interpretation, though plausible, is yet without a basis of fact. If these silver shrines were, as the commentators all assure us, common articles of merchandise, such as pilgrims to the famous temple purchased to take back to their homes, then we might fairly expect to find some specimens still extant among the treasures of our museums. But, on the contrary, nothing of the kind is known. The commentators on Acts xix. have accumulated a number of references, which upon examination render very little help. Some of the passages cited refer to the canopies or shrines which protected temple statues;¹ others describe smaller movable shrines or *ædiculæ*, containing a divine image,² others speak of niches or shelves upon the wall of a house;³ the rest merely tell us what we knew before, that *statuettes* of the Ephesian Diana were to be found everywhere in the Græco-Roman world. In fact, these statuettes of the goddess, reproducing all her hideous oriental features, may be found in bronze, in silver, or in

¹ Diodorus Sic. i. 15 (of the legendary building of Thebes by Osiris): the temple of Zeus contains ναοὺς χρυσοῦς of the other gods. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 5 (of the Cnidian Venus): *ædicula ejus tota aperitur ut conspici possit undique effigies dea fonte ipsa, ut creditur, facta.*

² Herod. ii. 63: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα, ἐὸν ἐν νηῶ μικρῇ ξυλίνῃ κατακεχυρωμένῃ, προεκκομίζουσι, κ.τ.λ.

Dio Cass. xxxix. 20: τεράτων τέ τινων ἐν τοῖσι γενομένων, ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ἀλβανῇ νεῷς Ἦρας βραχὺς ἐπὶ τραπέζας τινας πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένους πρὸς τὴν ἀρκτον μετεστράφη.

Heysch, *s.v.*: καθίσκοι σιπῆσαι, eis à τὰ λερὰ ἐτίθεσαν.

³ Petronius 29: Præterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cujus ædicula erant lares argentei positi.

Theophrastus, *Char.* 16: the δεισιδαιμων is always putting up niches and statuettes in his house (but ναὶς is not used).

terra-cotta, in every European museum. The type was exceedingly common, and witnessed to the wide extent of the worship. If the writer of the Acts had spoken of Demetrius as driving a brisk trade in these metal statuettes, the narrative would have corresponded to the facts. As it is, the statement that Demetrius was the maker of "silver shrines," is either to be set down as a loose mode of expression, or else it awaits explanation.

It appears to me that our inscription suggests a much simpler solution of the difficulty. I believe that St. Luke merely misapprehended the document which lay before him, and, in paraphrasing, gave a new turn to its meaning. That document was part of the diary of an eye-witness, whose jottings were doubtless as brief as they were precise. He had recorded how Δημήτριός τις ὀνόματι, ἀργυροκόπος ὢν καὶ νεοποιὸς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, "One Demetrius by name, a silversmith and a *neopoios* (shrine-maker) of Artemis," had raised a riot by assembling his workpeople, and so on. He had described Demetrius first by his trade—ἀργυροκόπος, "silversmith,"¹ and then by his office—νεοποιός or νεοποιὸς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, for such the inscription shows him to have been. St. Luke, when he comes to work this statement into his narrative, fails to see that νεοποιός is a title of office, and (misled by its juxtaposition with ἀργυροκόπος) takes it to be a further specification of his trade; his paraphrase there-

¹ In Blumner's *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste*, iv., pp. 304, 306, there are some interesting remarks on the terms χρυσοκόπος and ἀργυροκόπος. He points out that the art of the goldsmith lay almost entirely in the beating out of gold, gold being used in works of art, chiefly in leaf or in *repoussé* work. Yet the goldsmith was termed χρυσοκόπος, because in early days he did not procure or sell the metal with which he worked; it was then very rare, and was brought him by princely patrons, often in the shape of more ancient ornaments. His first work was therefore to melt down his material, and the name χρυσοκόπος being thus applied to his craft, still clung to it when its appropriateness had ceased. Ἀργυροκόπος, on the other hand, was the designation of the silversmith, because silver was from the first a more common metal, and the artist had it by him in the rough; his art also was chiefly directed to the making of cups and similar articles in *repoussé* work.

fore is Δημήτριος γὰρ τις ὀνόματι, ἀργυροκόπος, ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος, κ.τ.λ.

IV.

This paper would hardly be complete without some mention of two other documents brought by Mr. Wood from Ephesus, which seem to me to throw indirect light on the progress of Ephesian Christianity. One of these is a long inscription which covered a whole wall of the theatre : it is dated by naming the consuls of A.D. 104. It belongs therefore to the seventh year of the reign of Trajan. It deals with a bequest made by a certain C. Vibius Salutaris to the Ephesian city of an endowment in money, and also of a number of silver statuettes of deities, and particularly of Artemis herself. Elaborate directions are given for the investment of the money, and the annual distribution of the interest in doles. No less detailed are the directions about the statuettes ; they are to be carried in procession from the temple to the theatre at all public assemblies and dramatic celebrations, and thence conducted in procession through the city as far as the Coressian gate. This bequest is a striking illustration of the way in which the metal-work of Ephesus was encouraged by the popular religion.¹ The processions also with the images have been brought by Bishop Lightfoot into striking relation to a passage of St. Ignatius in his *Epistle to the Ephesians*.² But I cannot help regarding the bequest of Salutaris as having yet another bearing. The elaborate enactments connected with the gift, the pains taken to multiply processions and advance the honour of the goddess, appear to be intended as a sort of manifesto : although Christianity is not named or alluded to, yet the entire proceedings seem to have a polemical aim.

¹ On the metal-workers of Ephesus see some remarks of Dr. Waldstein, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii., 1882, pp. 103, 104.

² Lightfoot's *Ignatius*, ii., p. 17.

For the moment was one fraught with grave issues for the Church. The aged St. John had lately been removed by death, and the supernatural glories of the apostolic age seemed now to come to an end,

“And fade into the light of common day.”

The letter of Pliny to Trajan, just eight years after this (A.D. 112), not only shows how remarkably the faith had hitherto advanced, and how seriously it had threatened the local worships, but it reveals also that the very success of Christianity had provoked a reaction, and the aid of the law was being called in to persecute the faith.¹ In other words, the earlier years of Trajan were a time of pagan revival; the Church seemed for the moment to be losing ground, and heathenism to be gaining upon her. In this view the gift of *Salutaris* was timed at a significant hour. It was an effort of reviving idolatry, the manifesto of a reactionary movement, of pagan propaganda.

The last monument I wish to mention, also brought to England by Mr. Wood, has been often published, but in a mutilated form. It is the famous decree about the Ephesian month *Artemision*, which is declared to be henceforth entirely sacred to the goddess; all the days of the month are to be holy-days, and no law business may be done in them.² The inscription, as hitherto published, has no heading or date. Another marble however, presented by Mr. Hyde Clarke to the University of Oxford, proves to be the missing portion of the monument, and I had the satisfaction of first combining their readings.³ The date of the document now appears to be A.D. 160, in the proconsulship of *Popillius Carus Peto*,⁴ the last year of the reign of

¹ Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i., p. 449.

² *C. I. G.*, 2954.

³ The whole document will appear shortly as No. 482 in the forthcoming volume of Ephesian inscriptions.

⁴ Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 224.

Antoninus Pius. It seems that the proconsul had given offence by transacting public business at Ephesus (perhaps by holding his *conventus*) on some of the holy-days of the month of Artemision (= March). Against this the Ephesian senate had protested, as being an insult to the goddess and contrary to the usage and ordinance of previous proconsuls. To this remonstrance Peto makes a courteous reply, owning his mistake and reaffirming the ordinance. Hereupon the senate and people of Ephesus issue an elaborate decree, upon the motion of Laberius Amœnus, the town-clerk (*γραμματεὺς*), consecrating the entire month to Artemis. But it is to the preamble of this decree, which has never yet been printed, that I desire to draw attention. It runs thus: "Whereas Artemis, the goddess who presides over this our city, is being set at naught (*ἀτιμάται*), not only in her own native town, which she has made more glorious than all other cities by means of her own divinity, but also among both Greeks and barbarians, so that in many places her sacrifices and honours have been neglected (*ἀνεῖσθαι*): and yet she is worthy herself to be set up and to have altars reared to her, by reason of the evident manifestations (*ἐπιφανείας*) she makes of her presence," etc. If my restoration of this preamble be at all correct (and I think it will bear close scrutiny), it is certainly remarkable. It testifies that, towards the end of the second century the Artemis worship was declining. We need not wonder at this. Many influences were at work to undermine it. Under Antoninus Pius the worship of the Cæsars went forward with gigantic strides, and left little room for local cults. Purely oriental worships, of Mithras especially, and of Isis, Osiris, and the Egyptian gods, engrossed the devouter pagan minds. But, above all, Christianity, in spite of the frowns of the emperor and the clamour of the mob, made converts daily; and martyrdoms like that of Polycarp in Smyrna close by, which took place only four or five years before

this decree, did but add lustre to the faith and bring new converts to the Church. The preamble of the decree seems but to echo the language of Demetrius a century before; what he feared has actually come to pass. Artemis is being dethroned by the preaching of the Cross.

But her final fall was delayed yet a century longer; in A.D. 262 her temple fell a prey to the Goths, and her worship ceased.

E. L. HICKS.

RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. DÖLLINGER.

III. ENGLISH TOPICS.

NOT many foreigners outside the circle of professional diplomatists have habitually preserved such a keen and well-informed interest in England as Dr. Döllinger. The many Englishmen who just once in their lives have visited Munich, and obtained half an hour's conversation with its great theologian, must often have been surprised at the amount which he knew about their own country, and the readiness with which he comprehended anything which they had to tell him respecting the questions which were occupying English thought at the time. He was a German of Germans; but after Germany England had the next place in his affection and admiration. Not a few of his most intimate and best loved friends and pupils were Englishmen. He visited England more than once, and cherished a lively and happy recollection of what he had seen there. He habitually read English newspapers and periodicals, and liked to converse in English. Whatever drew Germans and Englishmen together was a delight to him; and it was the settled conviction of his life, a conviction which during his later years became an enthusiasm,

that *in the friendship of Germany and England lay the best guarantee for the peace and well-being of Europe.*

Of English topics, three in particular never failed to interest him in conversation : the English Church ; English politics, especially the career of Mr. Gladstone ; and Oxford. The present paper will make some attempt to record a few of his utterances upon these and other kindred subjects.

There was scarcely any question connected with England, or indeed with modern problems of any description, on which he had a more decided opinion than upon the disestablishment of the English Church. He believed that such an event, if ever it came, would be utterly calamitous, and that its evil consequences would reach far beyond England or the Anglican communion. It would be a heavy blow to the cause of religion throughout Europe. The interpretation put upon it would be, that the most religious nation in the world had made up its mind that its Church was no longer worthy of maintenance, and that it would not have come to this conclusion without at least doubting whether *religion* was worthy of maintenance.

“An establishment, among many other good things, has this great advantage. It gives you the right to appeal to all those numbers of merely nominal Christians who have not declared themselves to be Dissenters. If they profess to be Christians, and are not avowedly Nonconformists, you have a right to assume that they belong to the national Church. In these cases (and they are very numerous) it is not an impertinence on the part of the parish priest to visit such nominal Christians as being his parishioners ; on the contrary, he is only performing his duty in doing so. But if there is no established Church, then the clergy of the Church have no right to pay ministerial visits to any but those who declare themselves to be Churchmen. Even if an establishment had no advantage but this, it would be worth keeping.”

He was most anxious on the subject, especially during the clamour for disestablishment a few years ago. At that time he brought me a copy of the *Guardian*, and pointed out a letter in which the writer expressed the opinion that if disestablishment could be staved off for a year or two longer, the Church would be safe from this disaster for an indefinite period. "What do you think of that?" said Dr. Döllinger.

"I believe that there is a great deal of truth in it. Englishmen always respect hard and disinterested work. And there is such an immense amount of really splendid work being done by all sections of the clergy, that the Church is steadily regaining its hold of the masses."

"I am delighted to hear that you can think so," he replied. "I have been so long accustomed to regard the disestablishment of the English Church as only a question of time, that the opinion that it may still be averted—at least for a very long time—is quite a new light to me. No one will rejoice more than I shall, if it should prove to be well grounded."¹

On the question of the Burials Bill, he was much surprised that any English Churchmen, and especially the clergy, should object to being freed from the obligation of burying Dissenters at the cost of admitting Dissenting ministers to the churchyards. "That is astounding. Among ourselves there would not be two opinions upon the subject. We would far rather give up the churchyards to Dissenters than be compelled to use the liturgy of the Church for them. If it be regarded as a question of desecration, the desecration of Church services would seem to us a more serious matter than the desecration of Church

¹ When I returned to England I told Bishop Lightfoot of the conversation, and asked him his opinion of the view propounded by the writer in the *Guardian*. "I do not know that I should venture to say that 'a year or two' would suffice; but give us twelve years, and then I think that we are safe."

grounds. In Germany no difficulty ever arises from Catholics and Protestants using the same burial grounds simultaneously; and where there is a Catholic mortuary chapel, the Protestants never attempt to obtain the use of it. This use of common graveyards has produced a curious influence of Protestantism upon the Church. Formerly Catholics never had any address made at the grave; merely the Church's office for the burial of the dead, but no sermon. Protestants, on the other hand, always had an address; and now that both use the same burial grounds, Catholics have been induced to have an address also, this custom being very much liked. And one may add, that the Protestant addresses are commonly much better than the Catholic ones. But the whole system is an evil. Of course the dead person has to be mentioned, and much of what is said is taken up with the chief points in his life. For the sake of the friends and relations present the mention is laudatory, and in some way or other the deceased person is held up as exemplary. It sometimes happens that the minister at the grave praises a man whom all the bystanders know to have been utterly godless. I remember the case of a professor, who made no secret of being a sceptic, and told his colleagues that he regarded the Bible as a tissue of fables. When he died, those who attended his funeral were told by the minister that the deceased was one who in his study of the past always found God in history:—and I do not suppose that the word 'God' occurs from the first page to the last in his writings. If some one in England were to lift up a warning voice on this subject, he would be doing good service."

On another burning question he took a somewhat similar view, *viz.* that of the Athanasian Creed. In Germany such a commotion as we had had in England about the use or disuse of the creed would scarcely (he said) be possible.

"Few people here would insist upon rigid agreement

with formulas in a matter of such inscrutable mystery as the Trinity. In some particulars it is impossible to know the meaning of the terms used. The most subtle philosopher and the most profound theologian cannot explain the difference between 'generation' and 'procession' in the 'generation of the Son' and the 'procession of the Spirit.' I believe that the Athanasian Creed is as old as the sixth century, about A.D. 580 or 590, and that it was put together soon after the conversion of king Recaredo in Spain. When it was composed Arianism was abroad. Whole nations were converted to Arianism, and every one was keenly alive to the doctrine of the Trinity. The questions which perplex *us*, and which *we* have to try to solve, are of a very different kind. The Reformers made a great mistake in putting the creed in the public service; it should never have been placed there. With us it is recited only in the choir service on Sunday, a service at which very few of the laity, if any, are present; and if any are present, they are not likely to be offended by the creed, for it is said in Latin, and so fast, that the congregation will probably not know what is being said."¹

"Do you think that if the English Church were to abolish the public use of the Athanasian Creed, it would have any effect with regard to a future union between the English Church, the Old Catholics, and the Orientals?"

Dr. Döllinger laughed, and said: "Not the least effect, whatever you do. The Old Catholics are not so fond of the Athanasian Creed, least of all the damnatory clauses. Of course they believe the main body of doctrine contained in it, but they have no special affection for the creed as it

¹ When I told him that some experts who had been examining the Utrecht MS. containing the creed had pronounced it to be of the latter part of the sixth century, he shook his head very doubtfully. "That is very difficult to affirm. It is almost impossible to distinguish between MSS. of that age, of the seventh, and of the beginning of the eighth centuries, unless the *matter* of the MS. is decisive. There is no difference in the writing."

stands. *But you will not abolish it. You will retain it, and make the use of it optional.*"

"We are sometimes told that if we abandon the use of the creed, there will be an end of all chance of union with the Old Catholics."

"Oh, no; it would make no difference."

Dr. Döllinger was fully convinced that Anglican orders are at least as valid as those of the Church of Rome. He believed that the more the subject was investigated the more it would be found out and admitted that a better case can be made out for English orders than for Roman. At the time of the Council of Florence Pope Eugenius IV. published a decree (*Decretum pro Armeniis*) in which the matter and the form of the seven sacraments were defined; and in the case of ordination the matter essential to validity was ruled to be, *not* the imposition of hands, but the giving of the cup and paten (*porrectio instrumentorum*) to the candidate for priest's orders. This decree was acted upon. Ordinations in which the customary tradition of the paten and chalice had been omitted were treated as invalid. On the other hand, the imposition of hands was treated as a merely symbolical act, a usual accompaniment of the ceremony, but not essential. So that in numberless ordinations in the Roman Church since the decree of Eugenius IV. there is at least a possibility that the imposition of hands was omitted. The decree was drawn up by the famous Turrecremata (Torquemada), and it is one more illustration of the astounding ignorance of scholastic theologians respecting the doctrines and discipline of the primitive Church. In this case a leading theologian induced a pope to decree as of apostolic authority a custom which at the very utmost is not older than the end of the eleventh century, and probably is not earlier than the twelfth. It was about that time that the custom of presenting the chalice and paten to the person to be ordained priest was introduced. This grave

blunder of Eugenius IV. is a more serious difficulty with regard to Roman orders than anything which can be urged against Anglican orders; and if Anglican controversialists always met the attack on their orders by pointing out the confusion introduced by Eugenius IV., such attacks would probably become less frequent. The Nag's Head fable is of course exploded. The consecration of Bishop Barlow, Parker's consecrator, was never called in question until 1616, eighty years after the event; and the validity of Parker's consecration is so strongly attested that Lingard does not venture to question it. Bossuet also admitted it; and it cannot be questioned excepting upon sceptical grounds which would render history impossible.

"One thing which strikes a German very much when he travels in England is the silence of church bells. During the whole six work-days he never hears them; and his ear is so accustomed to the sound of them at home that the absence of it at once makes itself felt. Daily service, you tell me, has greatly increased of late years; still the lower orders in England (I am speaking of Protestants) hardly know what prayer means; they have never been brought up to it. Now the poor with us, especially the women, when they are in trouble, go instinctively to the church and pray, and come away soothed and comforted. English poor read their Bibles, but they do not pray much. Very much the same holds good of German Protestants. But our Protestants have their religious songs, their *Lieder*, and many of these are prayers, and are a great help to them. They know them by heart, for their rhyme and rhythm make them easy to remember; and thus they are always ready at hand when they are wanted. In England you have not this; and you have not the word to express it, not having the thing itself. 'Song' will not do; a *Lied* is not exactly a song.—We all of us have a great deal to learn from one another. All the great Christian communities must try to

learn one another's *good* points: that is one of the ways in which reunion will come about. The walls of partition must be broken down more and more."

"They have begun to crumble somewhat already."

"Yes," said Dr. Döllinger; "another such pope as Pius IX. will help forward the work greatly."

"You mean, that the constraint will become intolerable, and then the barriers must give way."

He nodded assent, and continued: "I only hope that we may have a pope who will make two more new dogmas. I could wish for nothing better. Say, the immaculate conception of S. Joseph, or of the blessed Virgin's legendary grandmother, S. Anna; or, again, the assumption. It is not impossible that the bodily assumption of the Virgin may be erected into a dogma. It is impossible that a hundred and eighty millions of people can go on believing such things as elements of the Christian faith. A time must come when reason will assert itself, and then true religion will obtain a hearing."

Dr. Döllinger was a good deal perplexed as to the small amount of intellectual and moral resistance which the Jesuits have met with in England as compared with that which has confronted them in Ireland; and, so far as I am aware, he never found a solution which satisfied him. "I have often wondered," he said, "and I have never yet been able to satisfy myself about the matter, why it is that the Jesuits have never made any way in Ireland. They never seem to have done so. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one hears little or nothing of them in the island: and even now, I believe, their influence there is very small. One is inclined to think that there must be something in the Irish character which makes it not very suitable material for Jesuit influences to work upon. Yet one would have thought that the English character was still more alien to the Jesuit system of espionage, casuistical

shuffling, sacrifice of the intellect, and so forth. When I was at Stonyhurst, however, there were about a dozen Englishmen, all Oxford men, all converts, and all being trained as Jesuits. The same difference is seen in the United States. The Jesuits get very little hold over the Irish Roman Catholics there, and make very few recruits from among them; whereas with Roman Catholic immigrants from other nationalities they have some success. I do not know what the reason is."

In 1873 Dr. Döllinger asked me what was thought in Oxford of Gladstone's Irish University Bill. I replied, "Much the same as in England at large: general approval at first, followed by criticism of details, and ending in decided hostility." Dr. Döllinger said that he quite understood ultramontane opposition to the bill. If the university was made such as to attract Catholic laymen, and bring them into contact with sound education and with the better class of Protestants, the Catholic laity would soon be emancipated from the priests. At the same time he thought that the bill offered advantages to Catholics, which were not likely to be offered again; and hence the opposition of Protestants to it. He did not think that the fact of having two professors in the same faculty preaching exactly opposite doctrine was the objection to concurrent endowment. They had had Catholic and Protestant chairs in theological and other subjects for years at Tübingen, Bonn, and elsewhere, and no difficulty had arisen on that score. *The* objection was, that directly you appoint a Catholic professor as such, you put the whole faculty at once in the power of the bishops, *i.e.* of Rome. He believed, however, that Cardinal Cullen's opposition to the bill was quite *bonâ fide*; there was no wish to grumble at it, and yet get it passed. In spite of its concessions to Catholics, it was too much against ultramontane interests to be acceptable.

The proposal to yield to Mr. Parnell's demand for an Irish Parliament he regarded as disastrous and amazing. He said to me in 1886, that Mr. Gladstone's change of policy seemed to him "one of the most extraordinary delusions ever seen in a statesman. It is so perfectly evident that whatever power is granted to an Irish Parliament will be used to make the separation between the two countries more complete." He laughed at Manning's heroic audacity in asserting that Roman Catholics have never persecuted Protestants in the past, and therefore are not likely to do so in the future. "One of the first things that the Irish Parliament would do would be to take possession of Trinity College, Dublin, and turn it into a Roman Catholic University." He was surprised at Cardinal Newman's silence on the subject. "It is not often that he allows a great question like this to arise without expressing an opinion upon it. But even Manning himself has become more cautious."

Dr. Döllinger considered that one of the main sources of the strength of the English Church was the fact that on the whole clergy and laity have the same education. He was entirely opposed to the system of seminaries, *i.e.* separate schools and colleges for those who are destined for holy orders.

"The system was ordered by the Council of Trent, but until the last thirty or forty years it was but little known in Germany. It has its advantages, but its disadvantages are enormous; and the marked inferiority of the younger clergy, who have been brought up under this system, to the older, who have not, is everywhere admitted. By the seminaries boys and young men are, so to speak, *cheated* into taking holy orders. They are taken from their families before they know anything of the world or their own tastes, and they do not return into the world until the irrevocable step has been taken. They know nothing of women, young or old,

and at four and twenty they are in the confessional hearing the confessions of girls and women of all ages, with nothing to guide them but the coarse books of casuistry on which they have been trained in the seminary. With some ill-advised question they reveal evil not dreamed of before, and ruin a young girl's delicacy of mind for ever."

For schools, he was inclined to think that the confessional was almost a necessity; not as being either prevention or cure, but as acting as a check upon grave evils, of which you would otherwise know nothing; or which, if you did know of them, you would be unable to reach.

Although full of sympathy for the High Church and historical school in the Church of England, Dr. Döllinger had no admiration for Ritualism. "What an extraordinary thing that is,—that enthusiasm about vestments, which makes men fanatical about a chasuble! It is a condition of things which you would find in no other country. And about a chasuble of all vestments, which is certainly neither graceful nor convenient! *We* are so used to them, that they do not strike us as particularly bad; but if we had not got them, we should not be likely to desire them.¹ The chasuble is not at all an ancient vestment. I do not understand why those who care for such things do not go to the Greek Church for their models. The Greek vestments are both more convenient and more dignified; and, indeed, in most matters of ritual Greek usage is more in conformity with the primitive type.—An English clergyman once called on me, who evidently thought that I should be very pleased to know that, in celebrating the eucharist, he wore vestments

¹ On one occasion he spoke of a chasuble as a *shocking* garment. He was also of opinion that elaborate ceremonial is distracting rather than helpful. At pontifical high mass, for instance, the celebrant *cannot* attend to the prayers: he must give his whole attention to the ritual, or all will go wrong. And, as a matter of *personal taste*, he disliked music at the eucharist. Beautiful music interrupted instead of helping his devotion.

closely resembling those of our own clergy. And some time afterwards I received a photograph of him in this costume: beretta, chasuble, lace, and all the rest of it. It amused me much, and (I confess) rather disgusted me: first, that he should care to be photographed in such attire; and, secondly, that he should suppose that I should care to have the photograph."

Dr. Döllinger was always interested in the work being done by the Clarendon Press. He thought that it ought to publish a good edition of the Greek Fathers. "That is a thing still wanted. If I had large sums of money to dispose of, the first thing I would do would be to publish a new and entirely revised text of the general councils—the Greek ones, of course—especially the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth; above all, the council at Constantinople at the time of Photius. A text was published at Rome in the seventeenth century, when Baronius and Bellarmine were still living; and that text is very uncertain and suspicious. I believe that all our printed texts are mere copies of that. They need to be revised with the MSS. which exist at Paris, Vienna, Munich, and elsewhere. You may have some in Oxford. Some society ought to undertake the work; and, of course, it would require the united labour of many persons to carry it out. It was talked of in Paris not long ago, and I was consulted about it; but the war of 1870 intervened, and I heard no more of the subject."

He was curious to see how the translation of Ranke's *History of England*, undertaken by the Clarendon Press, would be received in England. He greatly admired Ranke's thoroughness and enormous powers of production; even in Germany there was no one like him. He considered the histories of England, of the Reformation in Germany, and of Wallenstein, to be Ranke's best productions. They formed complete wholes, and were the result of his more mature powers. The *History of the Popes* was an earlier

work, and defective in many ways. Changes of policy in the popes were not noticed, and the whole of the Jansenist controversy was very inadequately treated, and apparently not understood.

On the propriety of allowing books to be taken out of the Bodleian Library to the homes of students, Dr. Döllinger had a very strong opinion. He was in favour of a very large amount of freedom. He said that if the restrictions enforced at the Bodleian prevailed in the public libraries of Germany, the literature of the country would be reduced by one-half. Not that such a result would be altogether to be deplored, if only one could choose the half. But it was precisely the more solid and valuable half that would be sacrificed.

He thought the method of appointing professors by the whole university, *i.e.* by Convocation, about the worst method possible, and one which ought to be altered at the earliest opportunity. An intelligent despotism, such as the Crown, is perhaps the best authority in such matters.

He thought it a strange thing that, while France had its Academy for the promotion of the highest kinds of literary work, and Germany had several such, England had none. England had great wealth, a high average of education, splendid libraries, scientific and artistic collections of quite unrivalled excellence—in fact, all the conditions of a successful Academy, and yet no such thing existed. I said that the functions of an Academy were discharged in other ways, and that we were apt to regard the French Academy as a warning, rather than an example. He thought that the two great universities prevented the growth of an English Academy. Neither of them was comprehensive enough to furnish the material, and outside of them a sufficient number of learned and scientific men was not to be found.

Among modern English writers, Dr. Döllinger had a

decided liking for Carlyle. "Carlyle is a wonderful person. He seems to me to stand quite alone in literature. He is like nobody else; *we* certainly have no one like him. He has founded no school, and he has had no imitators. Indeed, an imitator would be intolerable. Carlyle himself is irritating enough. But it is always worth while puzzling out what he means. One cannot compare Victor Hugo with him. Victor Hugo never wrote anything serious. The only person who seems to me to be at all like him—and he is very unlike—is Ruskin. It is difficult to compare the two; they are so different. And yet one feels that they have something in common. They might be called prophets, but without the gift of prophecy."

But I have seldom, if ever, heard him speak with greater admiration of any book than he expressed to me last July for Dr. Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*. He had read it with the keenest delight. Its humour, *good* humour, dialectical skill, and thorough knowledge of the ins and outs of the controversy, had given him immense enjoyment. And of the whole subject treated in the volume there was no critic who could at all equal Dr. Döllinger. If the knowledge of his admiration for the book induces any reader of this article to study the volume, he will thank me for having mentioned the fact.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XVIII. SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE (CHAP. x. 1-18).

WHAT might seem the last word is not quite the last. The writer makes a fresh start, not as having any absolutely new truths to utter, but with intent to reassert old truths with a power and impressiveness befitting the peroration of a weighty discourse. The "for" with which the chapter begins does not imply close connexion with what goes immediately before, as if what follows were a continuation of the argument written, as it were, at the same moment; it expresses merely a general connexion with the drift of the preceding discussion, the value of Christ's one sacrifice as compared with the valuelessness of oft-repeated Levitical sacrifices. We may conceive the writer making a pause to collect himself, that he may deliver his final verdict on Leviticalism in a solemn, deliberate, authoritative manner. This verdict we have here: rapid in utterance, lofty in tone, rising from the didactic style of the theological doctor to the oracular speech of the Hebrew prophet, as in that peremptory sentence: "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins." The notable thing in it is, not any new line of argument, though that element is not wanting, but the series of spiritual intuitions it contains, stated or hinted, in brief, pithy phrases: the law a shadow; Levitical sacrifices constantly repeated inept; the removal of sin by the blood of brute beasts impossible; the only sacrifice that can have any real virtue that by which God's will is fulfilled. The passage reminds one of the postscript to Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, written in large letters by the apostle's own hand, in which, in the same abrupt, impassioned, prophetic style, he enumerates some of his deepest convictions: the legal

zealots hollow hypocrites; the cross of Christ alone to be gloried in; circumcision nothing, the new creation everything; the men who take this for their motto, the true Israel of God.¹

The first important aphorism in this prophetic postscript, if we may so call it, expressed in a participial clause, is that the Levitical law had but a shadow of the good things to come (*σκιά*), and not the substance of them (*εἰκόν*). The terms *σκιά* and *εἰκόν* are fitly chosen to convey an idea of the comparative merits of Leviticalism and Christianity. A *σκιά* is a *rudé* outline, such as a body casts on a wall in sunshine; an *εἰκόν* is an *exact* image. But a shadow is, further, a likeness separate from the body which casts it; whereas the image denoted by *εἰκόν* is inseparable from the substance, is the form of the substance, and here, without doubt, stands for it.² The difference in the one case is one of degree, and points to the superiority of the Christian religion over the Levitical; in the other it is a difference in kind, and points to the absolute worth of Christianity.

The idea that the law had only a shadow, hinted for the first time in chap. viii. 5, there in reference to the cosmic tabernacle as a shadow of the true, heavenly tabernacle, is here repeated to account for the insufficiency of the legal sacrifices. How can a shadow serve the purposes of the substance? The statement is made with special reference to the ceremonies connected with the annual atonement, as is evident from the second clause of ver. 1, and its truth in that view might be illustrated

¹ Gal. vi. 11-18.

² The Greek patristic commentators understood by *σκιά* the first sketch of a picture before the colours were put in, and by *εἰκόν* the picture when it was finished. Canon Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889, remarks (p. 304): "The word contains one of the very few illustrations which are taken from art in the N.T. The 'shadow' is the dark, outlined figure cast by the object—as in the legend of the origin of the bas-relief—contrasted with the complete representation (*εἰκόν*) produced by the help of colour and solid mass."

by going into details. In its comprehensive reference as an atonement for the whole people ; in the sin offering presented by the high priest for himself, before offering for the people ; in the dress worn by the high priest on that occasion ; in the proximity of the solemn season to the feast of tabernacles, which followed four days after, and to the jubilee, which began on the evening of the same day—the religious ceremonial of the tenth day of the seventh month bore a shadowy resemblance to the transaction by which the sin of the world was really atoned for. It foreshadowed an atonement for all, by a perfectly holy Person, humbling Himself unto death, and procuring for men true liberty, peace, and joy. But how rude and barely recognisable the resemblance ! The atonement, annual, partial, putative ; the holiness of the priest, not real but ritual ; his humiliation an affair of dress, not an experience of temptation, sorrow, and pain ; the feast of tabernacles, a halcyon period of *seven days* ; the year of jubilee, a twelvemonth of freedom, preceded and followed by fifty years of servitude, not an unending era of freedom and gladness. Looking at a shadow on a wall, you can tell that it is the shadow of a man, not of a horse or a tree ; but, of what particular man, even if it were your own brother, you know not. Who, reading the sixteenth chapter of *Leviticus*, could guess what the ideal redemption would be like ?

The law, having only a shadow, is not able¹ through its sacrifices to perfect worshippers, by communicating to them the sense of forgiveness : such, in brief, is the next aphorism. Admirers of Leviticalism might reply, " Perhaps not by a single sacrifice, or by the ceremonial of one sacred season ; but repetition might help, the system as a

¹ The reading *δύναται* (ver. 1) has more diplomatic evidence in its favour than the singular *δύναται* ; but it is intrinsically so improbable, as to lead Bleek to remark, " Even if it had been found in the autograph of the author, I should have regarded it as an accidental mistake on his part." Whatever reading we adopt, the sense remains the same.

whole might bring satisfaction." "No," rejoins our author, "repetition does not mend matters; on the contrary, it is part of the shadowiness, it but serves to proclaim the ineffectual character of the sacrifices repeated. 'Since otherwise would they not have ceased to be offered, on account of the worshippers having no longer any consciousness of sin, being once for all purified?'¹ But (so far is that from being the case, that, on the contrary, in them is a remembrance of sins year by year' (vers. 2, 3.) A remembrance, mark, not an atonement; an acknowledgment that there is sin there to be atoned for, but not an effectual dealing with it such as can satisfy the conscience: nor at least the enlightened conscience, for the unenlightened might be well enough content." "The annual atonement"—the latter might say, "cancelled the ritual errors of the year past—that was what it was intended to do; what more is needed?" "Ritual errors," replies the enlightened conscience—"mere artificial offences against a code of arbitrary rules! What I want to be rid of is sin, real sin, offences against the moral law, which alone give me serious trouble." The conscience that takes up this attitude has broken with Leviticalism, lives in a wholly different world, and accepts as an axiom needing no proof, and admitting of no dispute, the blunt, downright assertion which follows: "For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin" (ver. 4).

Here, at last, is the whole truth, declared without periphrasis or qualifying clauses, by one to whose illuminated Christian consciousness it is as clear as noonday that the

¹ Most commentators read ver. 2 as a question. In some texts the negative is omitted, so that the sentence reads, "The sacrifices would then have ceased to be offered, on account of the worshippers having been cleansed once for all, and having no more conscience of sins." Mr. Rendall thinks both transcribers and translators have missed the meaning, and renders: "For these sacrifices would not have ceased to be offered by reason of those who serve having been cleansed once for all, and having no more conscience of sins."

very notion that sin can be removed by the shedding or sprinkling of a beast's blood is monstrous and absurd. How refreshing to him, weary of elaborate argumentation, to have an opportunity of uttering in this direct way his spiritual intuition on the subject under consideration! And who does not feel that there is more force in this plain statement of conviction than in the lengthened argument foregoing, skilful and persuasive though it be? To every spiritually intelligent mind it is self-evident that sin cannot be removed by the blood of beasts, or even by blood at all, viewed simply as blood, whether of man or of beast, but only by a holy will revealing itself through an act of self-devotion, and sanctifying, not through the mere blood shed in death, but by the holy, loving mind revealed in dying. Such is the thought the writer has in view when he makes the round assertion above quoted, for he has not forgotten his great word, "through an eternal spirit"; and accordingly he goes on to unfold this very thought, employing as the vehicle yet another Old Testament oracle, taken from the fortieth Psalm.

"Wherefore, coming into the world, He saith: Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not wish, but a body didst Thou prepare for Me. In whole burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin Thou hadst no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I am come (in the roll of the book it is written of Me) to do Thy will, O God."

This oracle, as it stands in the Hebrew text, is an echo of the great prophetic maxim, "to obey is better than sacrifice." Instead of "a body didst Thou prepare for Me," taken by our author from the Septuagint version, the original has, "Mine ears hast Thou bored or opened"; the meaning being, "Thou hast no pleasure in sacrifices, but Thou hast made Me obedient, and Thou hast pleasure in that." Thus read, the oracle might seem to point to the total abolition of sacrifice. As read by our author, it points to the super-

session of one kind of sacrifice by another of a higher type. "He taketh away the first, that He may establish the second" (ver. 9). So he points the lesson, after requoting the passage. He finds in it a reference to the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross. He assumes it to be Messianic, and conceives of Messiah as uttering the words put into His mouth on entering the world an eternal spirit incarnate. The Christ, having assumed flesh, says: "Lo, I come, that in this body which Thou hast prepared for Me I may do Thy will, O God, by offering Myself as a sacrifice." From a critical point of view, the use made of the oracle may seem questionable; but on the spiritual side it is unquestionably grand, provided we interpret the writer's meaning sympathetically. We must understand him as teaching, not merely that it pleased God by a sovereign act of His will to supersede one kind of sacrifice by another, the blood of beasts by the blood of the Man Christ Jesus, but that Christ's self-sacrifice stood in an inner, intimate, essential relation to God's will, conceived of, not as sovereign only, but as an embodiment of the moral ideal, and that its virtue lay in its being a perfect fulfilment of that will. Interpreters bent on emptying all the great words of this epistle of ethical contents, as if jealous lest its author should appear more than a common, contracted Jewish Christian, do their best to reduce the significance of this last great word to a minimum, by conceiving of Christ's sacrifice as standing, in the writer's view, in a purely external relation to the Divine will. According to them, all he means to teach is, that Christ's offering of Himself is the true and final offering for sin, because it is the sacrifice which, according to the prophecy in the book of Psalms, God desired to be presented. In this way he is made to appear inferior in spiritual insight to the psalmist, who, it is admitted, set obedience to the general moral will of God above sacrifice. I have no sympathy with such cynical

exegesis. I think that when the writer conceives of Christ come into the world as saying, "Lo, I am come to do Thy will, O God," he means something more than, "I am come to suffer in this body, since that is the way by which it pleaseth Thee to redeem man"; and that when he remarks, "In which will we have been sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (ver. 10), he means that it is God's will that sanctifies through the offering, and not merely that it is God's will that we should be sanctified in this particular way. His doctrine is, that Christ's self-sacrifice was a perfect embodiment of Divine righteousness, and on this account possesses sanctifying virtue. God is well pleased with it, and out of regard to it pardons sin. In short, the will of God in this text serves the same general purpose as the eternal spirit in chap. ix. 14, that, *viz.*, of accounting for the value of Christ's sacrifice. I attach great importance to my interpretation of the two texts, because I believe that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had really surmounted Judaism, did really understand Christianity, had valuable light to throw on the momentous question, Why Leviticalism should be superseded by a new religion, a satisfactory explanation to offer why the blood of Christ should have more virtue than the blood of beasts.

In the following three verses (11-13) we have a pictorial representation addressed to the spiritual imagination, graphically depicting the contrast between the Levitical priest and the great High Priest of humanity. The picture might be named "The Sacerdotal Drudge and the Priest upon the Throne." The contrast is carefully worked out, that it may be as vivid and impressive as possible. The portrait of the Jewish priest in particular is minutely drawn, every word contributing to the pictorial effect. "And *every* priest¹ stands day by day ministering, and

¹ In the best texts is found *ἀρχιερεὺς* (high priest), the objection to which

offering *often* the *same* sacrifices, such as can *never* take away¹ sins." First, "every" (πᾶς) suggests the idea of a multitude, and that is one note of imperfection, already remarked on in an earlier part of the epistle.² Every priest *standeth* (ἑστηκεν): the attitude is servile, and as such is in contrast to the regal attitude of sitting on a throne ascribed to the exalted Christ. "Day by day" (καθ' ἡμέραν), a third mark of inferiority. The work never gets done, the wearisome round of duty is daily gone through by the sacerdotal drudge, without any result, and the poor official, as you look at him with the eye of the spirit, becomes an object of compassion to you, as if he were some criminal doomed to fruitless labour in the treadmill. "Offering the same sacrifices" (τὰς αὐτὰς θυσίας): yes, ever the same, no change from day to day, from year to year; evermore the same tale of lambs, and rams, and bullocks, and goats, slain and offered in the same stereotyped fashion as prescribed by rigid rule. "Often" (πολλάκις) are these same sacrifices offered. Had the service been confined to a few occasions, coming round at distant intervals, the sameness of the ritual would have been less felt. But as each day summoned the priest to his sacerdotal duties, his office would become in course of time unspeakably wearisome to him, and the only comfort available to the hapless official would be a beneficent stupidity, rendering him gradually insensible, as human ears grow insensible by custom to the unmelodious sounds emanating from a factory. "Sacrifices such as can *never* take away sin" (οὐδέποτε). Here was the most fatal defect

is, that what is said of the Levitical priest applies to the ordinary priests rather than to the high priest, for it was not the high priest that offered the daily sacrifices. But in a rhetorical statement strict accuracy is not aimed at. The main point is, that there was periodic repetition of sacrifice under the Levitical system, in the high priest's department as well as in the ordinary priests'.

¹ περιελείν, literally "to strip off all round," implying thorough work.

² vii. 23.

of all. These Levitical sacrifices, daily repeated in the same invariable manner, were of no real value. They were utterly unfit to do the very thing for which sacrifice exists. They could not divest the sinner of his sins, although the priest should live to the age of Methuselah, and offer the same sacrifices every day of his almost interminable life. This combination of *ever* and *never* is very pathetic to the reflecting mind. Ever, ever, ever at work; never, never, never doing any real good. What a dismal existence! How welcome death, coming as a kind friend to take the melancholy official from the treadmill to the grave, making his place vacant for his son and successor!

Turn your eye now from the sacerdotal drudge, and fix it on the Priest on the throne. This Man has a different career and destiny. "This one, having offered *one* sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God, thenceforth waiting till His enemies be made the footstool of His feet." This Priest too had His experience of drudgery; but it had a glorious end and a magnificent result. He was a priest, but He is a king; a priest for ever indeed, but of the regal type. He standeth not daily offering over and over again the same sacrifices; He offered Himself once for all, and then sat down on a celestial throne. He who on earth was as one that serveth is now ministered unto; He that humbled Himself is exalted. His work too, however arduous and painful, was not like that of a criminal in the treadmill, but rather like that of a warrior in a campaign. He had His battle, and then His victory; He had His cross, and then His crown "of full, and everlasting, and passionless renown."

How it came about that Christ got done with His priestly work, so far as sacrifice was concerned, and in due course entered into glory is thus explained: "For by one offering¹

¹ *μία προσφορά* might be taken as nominative to the verb, which would give us this contrast: all the Levitical sacrifices together were never able to take

He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (ver. 14). His one offering serves all the purposes of all the sacrifices under the law: sanctifies, *i.e.* places men in covenant relations with God, like the "blood of the covenant" inaugurated at Sinai; perfects, *i.e.* keeps those covenant relations intact, maintains uninterrupted fellowship with God, the end which all Levitical sacrifices, offered daily, monthly, or yearly, vainly sought to effect. Surely a sufficient reason for the cessation of Christ's priestly work, in so far as it was servile! If the one sacrifice secured all that was wanted, why offer more? Why work for working's sake? The earnest man does no work aimlessly. He will spare no pains to accomplish a desired end; but that done, he will rest from his labours. One can indeed conceive a man of heroic spirit heaving a sigh when the toil and struggle are past. There was such an elevation of mind, such a buoyancy of spirit, such a blessed satisfaction of conscience connected therewith, that, despite the drudgery and the strain upon the powers of endurance, he could almost wish he had the same work to do over again. "All things that are, are with more spirit chased than enjoyed." Yet, if inactivity be distasteful to the moral hero, not less so is an idle, aimless busybodyism. And then it is to be remembered that, though the particular task be ended, there may be other work to do. The case is so with men on earth; but how is it, it may be asked, with Christ in heaven? What new work is there for Him to do? Does not His whole occupation now consist in sitting on a throne? and is not that, to speak with reverence, as monotonous as the mechanical, never-ending routine of the Levitical service? Can we imagine the eager, adventurous, enthusiastic spirit of Jesus content with that passive existence in heavenly glory? Surely He must remember

away sin; Christ's one sacrifice, on the contrary, hath perfected for ever those whom it sanctifies.

almost with regret that sublime career on earth, and be tempted to wish that He were back again in the arena of conflict, to go through His course of suffering once more!

Such thoughts, though bold, are not impious, for they do homage to the heart of Christ; yet, while natural, they are not well founded. For Christ's celestial state is not so passive as at first it seems. He too has new work to do, which occupies His mind, and shuts out regret that the old work is at an end. "He ever liveth to make intercession." He watches the progress of the world's history and the development of His kingdom. He uses His power to promote the triumph of good over evil. From the invisible heights of heaven, whence all below is in full view to the eye of His "eternal spirit," He not only surveys, but conducts the fight between the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness. And up yonder His breast heaves with the varied emotions naturally awakened by the chequered course of the battle. By sympathy with His friends He fights His own battles over again with His own old foes, superstition, hypocrisy, unbelief, unrighteousness. No need therefore to look back to the long distant, ever-receding past, as if all the interest of His eternal existence were wrapped up in those memorable thirty-three years. The present is full of thrilling interest for Him, the present, I mean, of this world's history. His eyes see, His ears hear, His heart is interested in the things of earth. Earth is a very minute object seen from the skies; but the omniscient eye of Christ is a telescope of unlimited magnifying power, which can make the earth to His view just what it is to ours, a large world, full of exciting grand dramas going through their several acts, and filling His breast with strong emotions, such as we feel when we read of battles fought, of empires perishing, of slavery and other iniquities receiving their death-doom. And the future of the world is a source of intense interest to the

King on the throne, not less than the present. He watches with eager, expectant eye the progress of that great struggle between good and evil, whose final issue shall be the triumph of the good over the evil. He has great expectations as well as great recollections, pleasures of hope as well as pleasures of memory. The final issues of things, whereof the beginnings were in His own earthly life, rising there like a mighty river in an untracked mountain region, are in His view; and He looks for them with patient yet unflagging confidence, waiting for the end, for the final victory of the Divine kingdom: "expecting till His enemies be made His footstool." He has had longer to wait than it entered into the mind of the writer of this epistle to imagine; but hope deferred maketh not *His* heart sick.

The picture of the sacerdotal drudge and the Priest on the throne would have made a most impressive close to the discourse on the priestly office of Christ. One may be inclined to say, After that, not another word. Yet there is another word, intended to substantiate the statement, that by His one offering Christ perfected for ever the sanctified, bringing them nigh and keeping them nigh to God. There was no logical necessity for this being done, for the position has been proved over and over again, and one is tempted to wonder that a writer of such consummate tact should spoil the artistic effect of that fine picture by requoting Jeremiah's oracle of the new covenant, and pointing its moral anew. But he is writing for Hebrew Christians, not for us, and he is more concerned about convincing them than about the artistic finish of his discourse. He fears lest, after all he has said, Levitical rites should still hold possession of their minds, and he makes one last effort to break the spell, at the risk of being thought tedious. It is one of very many indications, that have been pointed out as we came upon them, in how benighted a condition were the first readers as to the whole subject of Christ's priesthood and

the claims of Christianity to be the final religion. And, of course, if the elaborate argument going before failed to convince them, this last touch would not succeed. It would be so easy to raise objections. The argument is: The oracle promises complete pardon of sin, but where such pardon is there is no longer offering for sin. To which two objections might be taken. First, the oracle makes no mention of a sin offering as the ground of forgiveness: why should not its meaning be—an amnesty for the guilty past, the heart regenerated, therefore no more sin done, therefore no further interruption of the friendly relation subsisting between the covenant people and their God? Abolition of Levitical sacrifice may possibly be involved, but what indication is there that another kind of sacrifice was to take its place? Next, is not the promise of perpetual forgiveness too strictly interpreted? Perpetual forgiveness, sin remembered no more: is this not an ideal? Will there not in reality under the new covenant, as under the old, be new sin committed even by men who have the law written on their heart, therefore need for new acts of forgiveness, and therefore naturally for new offerings for sin? So we have the dilemma: either the new covenant points to no new kind of offering, or it does not preclude a plurality of sacrifices. How difficult for men living in different worlds of thought to convince one another by argument! The spiritual guides of a transition time have a difficult and comparatively thankless task to perform. They are compelled by the necessities of their position to use old forms of thought as the vehicle of new ideas; and their reward is, that the new element in their teaching makes it unacceptable to their contemporaries attached to the past, while the old element, on the other hand, makes it uninviting and obscure to men of later generations.

We have made small progress indeed in the understanding

of this epistle if we have not discovered in it, under its Levitical forms of thought, many great moral and religious truths. But much more than this is involved in a thorough insight into its meaning. Some of the most important truths it teaches have grown through long familiarity trite. The "new covenant" is a commonplace in theology. That Christ's offering of Himself had a value that could not belong to the sacrifice of a beast is now a truism. That Christianity is "better," presents a higher type of religion, than Leviticalism is at this date axiomatically clear. Understanding of this epistle means power to realize that none of these now familiar truths were commonplaces for its author. It was the vivid perception of this fact that many years ago opened my eyes to the thrilling interest and abiding value of this New Testament writing, and awakened in me a desire to unfold its significance to others. I do not think that one who makes it his specific aim to interpret the *spirit* of the book undertakes a superfluous task. Many men of greater learning by far than I lay claim to have applied their powers to the elucidation of its text, and have done much to make the meaning of every word and phrase clear. But, while the work of verbal exegesis has been almost brought to perfection, the interpretation of the spirit is far from complete. Too many learned commentators write as if the ideas of a new covenant, atonement through self-sacrifice, a forerunner, etc., had been as familiar to the writer and his first readers as they are to themselves; and as if the doctrine that Christianity was the religion of good hope, because it for the first time brought men nigh to God, was a matter of course to all parties. Even the pregnant remark, that "that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away," is lightly passed over, as if its applicability to the ancient constitution of Israel and the venerable Levitical priesthood was called in question by no one. Even Bleek, still our foremost com-

mentator on the epistle, often disappoints in connexion with the interpretation of the spirit.

This leads me to remark, at the close of my exposition of the doctrinal part of the epistle, what I have again and again remarked in its course, that successful interpretation of the spirit of this sacred writing depends, above all, on a right conception of the religious situation of the first readers. Was it that of men who had no real insight into the nature and worth of Christianity as the final, perennial religion, and into its characteristic truths? or was it that of men who, while fairly well-grounded in the Christian faith, were sorely tempted to apostasy by outward trial, and disappointment as to the second advent, and stood in need of aids to steadfastness, including among these a restatement of familiar Christian doctrines, such as that of our Lord's priesthood? I have gone on the supposition that the former of these alternatives is the true one, and conceived the attitude of the first readers towards Levitical rites to have been similar to that of the Judaists, with whom Paul contended, towards circumcision. The view we take on this question affects, not only our interpretation of many texts, but still more our idea of the man who wrote the texts. On it depends whether we conceive of him as a theologian or as a prophet, as a doctor or as an apostle, as a philosophic student or as a moral hero. If my view of the situation be right, then he belonged to the nobler categories, and was a man like-minded with Paul, the vindicator of the independence of Christianity against legalists, who assailed it. He was one who, with prophetic boldness and apostolic inspiration, asserted the antiquation of the old covenant and worship against men holding on desperately to these, and dared to apply the maxim, "the decadent old must pass away," to institutions that had lasted more than a thousand years, writing to men who probably regarded his views as little short of blasphemy.

It requires an effort of historical imagination to realize the situation which called forth this great epistle. It much helps one when he is himself in a transition time and in sympathy with the changes it brings. One can then divine the spirit in which the epistle was written, understand the attitude of its author towards the past, and his enthusiasm for the new in the present, and appreciate the heroic moral basis of his religious character. Learning can do much for the interpretation of the letter; but when spiritual affinity is lacking, learned labour may end in a scholastic commentary on a biblical writing from which the soul has fled.

The task I undertook was to expound the doctrinal part of the epistle with reference to its central idea. That task I have in a very imperfect manner performed. A hasty sketch in two papers of the drift of the hortatory section following will form a fitting conclusion to this series.

A. B. BRUCE.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

At the present time, when attention is being called in many ways to the structure of the books of the Old Testament, and when startling suggestions are put forward concerning the kind of revision and editing to which these books were subjected to bring them into their present form, it will not perhaps be without advantage to ask whether any facts, and, if so, what, can be gathered from the books themselves calculated to throw light on this subject, which is of undoubted importance, and the discussion of which has been a fruitful source of disquiet to many earnest minds.

The Book of Proverbs seems to furnish some such material as is needed. That book forms part of the third section of the Bible, according to the Hebrew arrangement. The works contained in this third part were of somewhat less account than those in the other sections, which comprise the law, and the earlier and later prophets. They are merely classed as *Kethubim*, i.e. writings. The section commences with the Psalms, and it is thought that our Lord (Luke xxiv. 44) used the name "Psalms" as a title of the whole section, when He comprehends all Old Testament writings under the phrase, "the law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms."

The *Kethubim* were probably gathered into one collection at a later date than the other Scriptures, and the various parts of them kept open for the reception of additions during the years in which the Canon of the Old Testament was unsettled. The Book of Proverbs presents clear marks of its composite character, and that its various portions are not of the same date. It may be therefore, that a consideration of its form, and of the manner in which its contents appear to have been brought together, will give us

a clearer notion of what is likely to have taken place with regard to other books, at any rate to those included in the same section. It is no unwarrantable supposition that what befell in the case of one book befell also in the case of some others.

The title which stands at the head of the book, "the proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel," is a general one, and intended to apply to the whole collection of proverbs. But it was not the design of those who affixed this title to imply that the wise utterances contained in these first chapters were the words of King Solomon. This they make clear at the opening of chap. x., where "the proverbs of Solomon" is placed as a title in such a way as to show that in what follows we have the actual sayings of the wise king. The previous nine chapters may have been collected from the words of those sages with whom Solomon is compared in 1 Kings iv. 31: "He was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol." These men, and it may be others, had been of high repute before Solomon's time. Hence the comparison. Their wisdom, like his, had found expression in proverbial sayings. It was Salomonic, though not equal to the profounder teaching of the gifted king. Yet by reason of their precedence in time the words of these ancient worthies would seem fit to be gathered together, and placed first in the book which was to bear the name of Solomon.

The first instalment of the veritable sayings of David's son extends from x. 1 to xxii. 16. At this point, if we may judge from appearances, the collection stopped for a while: the chapters first gathered being doubtless the proverbs most current and in repute close to the age in which Solomon lived.

Two brief supplementary pieces are attached to this first body of Proverbs. The one, which commences at xxii. 17

and extends to xxiv. 22, is an anonymous contribution, and can only be called generally "the words of the wise." "Incline thine ear, and hear the words of the wise," is its opening exhortation. The second piece, contained in xxiv. 23-34, is also anonymous, but is furnished with somewhat more of a title. "These also are sayings of the wise." These two small contributions to the gnomic wisdom of Israel appear to have been placed after this first collection of Solomon's proverbs, that they might be preserved. It was known that all the wise words of Solomon had not yet been brought together, but the time perhaps appeared not ripe for further collection. But the two anonymous pieces were not to perish, and were stored up here by those who had the keeping of the literary treasures of Israel. Long years passed before the rest of Solomon's proverbs were gathered, and by that time the position of these two morsels had become secure, and they were left in their place, though they sever the two parts of the true Salomonic sayings.

At the opening of chap. xxv. we find the announcement, "These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." The part of the book so described embraces chaps. xxv.-xxix., and the superscription is full of interest. We learn from it that beside the proverbs which were first collected, and given forth under Solomon's name, there existed a considerable amount of floating proverbial sayings attributed to that king, but that this was not brought into the connected form which it has in chaps. xxv.-xxix. until more than two centuries after Solomon was dead. And the collectors of it were clearly an authoritative body. "The men of Hezekiah" were some sort of college of scribes, to whom the king gave in charge the arrangement of the national literature. And the time at which this body comes on the scene is very suggestive. It was in Hezekiah's reign that the ten tribes

were carried into captivity. The removal of so large a part of the nation would be sure to turn men's minds to the preservation of their history. Judah was only a little kingdom, but was heir to all the traditions of her captive sister. It was befitting therefore that the king of Judah should take measures for gathering and preserving the history of the whole people.

In connexion with this by no means improbable supposition concerning the establishment and duties of Hezekiah's college, it is interesting to notice that in the Book of Judges the only mark of chronology on which we can fix is this same deportation of Israel, and occurs in an allusion to that idolatry which was the cause of the national overthrow. We are told (Jud. xviii. 30) that Micah's Levite and his descendants were priests to the Danites *until the day of the captivity of the land*. These last words sound as though dictated by events in the not very remote past. There is abundance of ancient matter in the Book of Judges, but this sentence belongs to the framework of the narrative, and so to the age in which the book was brought into its present form. And, supposing this college of Hezekiah to have continued, there is no reason why the books of Ruth, Judges, and Samuel may not have been edited by the members of it, and the national literature thus far arranged by men acting under royal authority and supported by royal endowment.

The rest of the Book of Proverbs is comprised in two chapters, but these are made up of three independent compositions. Chap. xxx. is called "the words of Agur, the son of Jakeh," and chap. xxxi. 1-9 are "the words of king Lemuel." We find nothing to enlighten us as to who these persons were, but we may assume that they were sages of the Salomonic stamp, whose utterances appeared, at some later time, worthy of being appended to the words of the wise king of Israel. But this must have been done

at a late period, and these two pieces, with the one that follows them, look like the last gleanings in the field of proverbial philosophy.

In chap. xxx. 10-31 we have a separate poem, the beautiful description of the virtuous wife. Like some of the Psalms, it is marked by a pedantic peculiarity. Each of its verses begins with a different letter, and these follow each other in the order of the Hebrew alphabet. Such acrostics mark a late and fanciful stage of poetic composition. The little poem may be the work of Lemuel, whose name stands above the first verses of the chapter, but is an entirely distinct composition, though placed in conjunction with what precedes it without the slightest note, except the acrostic structure, of its separate character.

From this survey of the contents of the Book of Proverbs we may draw the following conclusions: (1) That the book was kept open till a somewhat late date for the reception of new matter of the same character. (2) That the name of Solomon was used in the title without any intention of implying that the whole contents of the book were Solomon's writing. (3) That small contributions of proverbs were added to the rest without any notice of whence they came. (4) That some portions of the book for which the material had been in existence for a long period were not brought into the form in which we have received them for some centuries after their first composition.

Further, it needs no long examination of the Book of Proverbs, where repetitions abound and where parallel passages are repeated even three times over, to see that little literary skill was exercised to avoid such repetitions. The materials were incorporated with probably very small modification of the form in which they had first been written down.

If we proceed to examine some of the other Old Testament books in the light thus derived from the contents of

one, we find that some of them present very similar phenomena, and we may not be indisposed to admit that what is shown to be true of a part need not necessarily be untrue of the rest, though it may not be capable of demonstration.

Take first "the Psalms." This is their simple title, but so many of them have the additional title לְדָוִד = "(ascribed) to David," that the whole collection has come to be regarded as David's work, an idea which is fostered by the frequent rendering of the separate title by "A Psalm of David." Yet it can easily be shown that the Hebrews did not intend by such a title to state that King David wrote the psalm which bears it. They meant only that the words were Davidic in character, and that it was appropriate that they should be included in the temple Psalter, which bore David's name, because he was one of the first and largest contributors to its contents.

This was fully understood by the Septuagint translators, and they were much more conversant with Hebrew thought and ideas than we can hope to be. They were living too much nearer to the age wherein the Psalms were written: an age when the conditions of authorship were much simpler than they now are, when proprietorship in a composition was not thought of as it is in these days of literary copyright. Hence to their Psalm cxxxvi. (Heb. cxxxvii.) they have prefixed the title τῷ Δαυὶδ (the exact literal representation of the Hebrew לְדָוִד) Ἱερεμίου, by which they assuredly meant to convey that the composition was in the style of David's writing, but that in their judgment, or according to the tradition which had come down to them, the writer was Jeremiah. And the matter of the Psalm ("By the waters of Babylon") shows that this is not improbable.

After the same fashion the Septuagint Psalm cxxxvii. is set down as "A Psalm of (*i.e.* in the style of) David, by Haggai and Zechariah," to whom the Seventy also assign

the authorship of Psalms cxlv.-cxlviii. Hence "A Psalm of David," as we render the common title, was not a phrase by which David was claimed as the author. If we bear this usage of the Seventy in mind we shall feel less disturbed, when in other psalms bearing the Davidic title in the Hebrew we meet with language which appears to belong to a later age. Like the Book of Proverbs, the Psalter was doubtless kept open for a considerable time after the return from Babylon, and if any poems were produced worthy to take their place among the music of the sanctuary, the guardians of the sacred literature included them in their collection as Davidic poetry, but with no intention to deceive or to give the impression by the title that the works were of earlier date.

That psalms of late date did exist in the Psalter was noticed more than once by the translators of the Geneva Bible. Thus in a marginal note to Psalm lxxiv. they say, "The Church of God being oppressed by the tyranny either of the Babylonians, *or of Antiochus*, prayeth to God, by whose hand this yoke was laid upon them." It offered no difficulty to these biblical students, and they were men mighty in the Scriptures, to admit that some psalms were written, and included in the Psalter, in the troublous post-Exile times, even as late as Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.). So in the margin of Psalm xlv. the same translators give their judgment. "This psalm seemeth to have been made by some excellent prophet for the use of the people when the Church was in extreme misery, either at their return from Babylon, *or under Antiochus*, or in such-like affliction." They were not troubled to maintain that the Psalter was early closed, or that there could be in it no Maccabæan psalms.

If then any are disposed to see in the language of Psalm xlviii. ("*Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised*") a pilgrim song written after the return from Babylon, in

which, after the celebration of past glory and deliverances, the poet intimates the motive of his verse, thus :

“ Walk about Zion, and go round about her :

Tell the towers thereof :

Mark ye well her bulwarks

Consider her palaces ” :

or if allusions to the Babylonish captivity are traced in the close of Psalm cvi., where a part of the recital of God's discipline is thus expressed :

*“ Therefore was the wrath of the Lord kindled against
His people,*

And He abhorred His inheritance :

And He gave them into the hand of the nations ;

And they that hated them ruled over them ” :

such exposition finds its warrant in other places of the Psalm-book, and may prove worthy of acceptance. For Psalm cxxxvii. makes it plain that such post-Exile reminiscences did find their way into the Psalter, and the words of Psalm lxxix. (*“ O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance ”*) are more applicable to the sorrowful days of the Maccabees than to any other period of Jewish history.

Again, a study of 1 Chronicles xvi. gives us an insight into the way in which the various portions of the Psalter could be dealt with before the temple-services became stereotyped. We have there an account of the observances when the ark was brought by King David into Zion ; and among other things the chronicler tells us how a certain psalm, for the religious part of the service, was delivered by the king into the hand of Asaph. But when we compare this “ psalm ” with the Psalter, as we now have it, we find that the composition in Chronicles is made up of (1) the first fifteen verses of Psalm cv., with only a small change in one verse ; (2) Psalm xcvi. though two or three half-verses

are omitted, and there is a slight transposition; then follows (3) a doxology of three verses, made up of words found in Psalm cvi. 1, 47, 48, the last two of which verses form the doxology to the fourth book of the Psalter. From this example there can be no doubt that the Book of Psalms was looked upon as a treasury of devotional poetry, from which appropriate words might be drawn for special occasions, and ranged in such order as was deemed most suitable. We can understand too how it came to pass that several psalms when inserted in the Psalter were supplied with a closing verse or two which rendered them more suited for the public worship. From this cause the closing verse was probably added as a doxology to Psalm xviii., and a like remark applies to xxvii. 14, xxxi. 23, 24, li. 18, 19, lv. 23, and some others, where a sudden change of subject is found in the final verse or verses.

We can also see how such Psalms as xcvi. and cxxxv. came into existence, in which nearly every verse has its parallel in some other psalm. Words appropriate for some special occasion of thanksgiving were culled from various places in the Psalter as it then existed, and the compilation finding favour was preserved to be used for any similar need. It was probably also the popularity of Psalm xiv. which caused it to be inserted in a slightly different version in the Psalter as Psalm liii. Thus we notice that some of the peculiarities observed in connexion with the Book of Proverbs exist also in the Psalter, especially that the book was kept open to a somewhat late period for the reception of new compositions; that to pass under David's name does not imply that a psalm was of his composition; and that a good deal of freedom was used in selecting and adapting some psalms for use, while the frequent repetitions which occur show that no great amount of regard was paid to the literary form of the book.

When we inquire from the prophetic books con-

cerning the way in which the Hebrews dealt with their literature, the evidence is naturally more scanty and of a different character. Here there is no book kept open for additions, but we constantly find the prophets using freely the writings of their predecessors, or any other existing literature. The oft-cited passage which exists alike in Isaiah ii. 2-4 and Micah^{iv}. 1-3 will occur to everybody. Hosea viii. 14 is repeated with modifications many times over in Amos i. 4, 7, 10, 12, ii. 2, 5; and Hosea iv. 15 in Amos v. 5 and viii. 14. The utterances of Hosea ii. 19, 20 are taken up in Jeremiah xxxi. 31-34, while vers. 27, 28 of that chapter also draw upon Hosea ii. 23. The same chapter of Hosea has supplied many thoughts and figures which appear in Ezekiel xvi. The prophet Obadiah in vers. 1-9 and in ver. 16 quotes and adopts the words of Jeremiah in various parts of chap. xlix. while vers. 10-18 of Obadiah have much that is common to them and Joel i. 15 to iii. 19.

But perhaps the most interesting example is found in Isaiah, chaps. xv. and xvi. In the thirteenth verse of the latter chapter the prophet intimates that "the burden of Moab," which has just preceded, is taken from the lips of some previous prophet. "This is the word that the Lord spake concerning Moab in time past." As the land of Moab against which the prophecy was uttered was included between "the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain" (2 Kings xiv. 25), it has been suggested that the original prophecy may be "the word of the Lord God of Israel, which He spake by the hand of His servant Jonah," of which we have a notice in the passage of 2 Kings. But be this as it may, Isaiah is quoting from some one, and we know not whether with any adaptations. And this same prophetic word is taken up by Jeremiah (chap. xlviii.), and amplified either with language of his own, or with the addition of parts of the original which Isaiah had omitted. When we remember the large amount of prophetic litera-

ture which is mentioned in the Books of Chronicles, and which has not come down to us, we need not be surprised at resemblances in the language of those which are preserved, and we can form a judgment of the freedom with which each succeeding generation felt at liberty to adopt, or adapt, the words of those who had gone before them.

Concerning the very early books of the Old Testament, the evidence which deals with their composition is such as experts alone are fitted to examine, and hitherto among these the agreement is very partial. Yet from what we have seen in regard to the other books, we may be prepared to admit that for the books of the Pentateuch there existed in former times two or three, or it may be more, independent works, one containing more historic matter, another more of the legislation, while a third might treat of the priestly functions and of religion. Nor need we assume that the traditional title, "Books of Moses," was ever intended to signify more than that some part of the contents was of Mosaic origin.

We should suppose however that there never was any tendency to cancel or suppress, but that the several works were amalgamated somewhat unartificially, so that there may have survived from this method passages which at first sight appear conflicting.

It is very probable that the work of combination was not completed all at once, or even by the same persons, yet that whoever was employed thereon tried to preserve the material which they possessed as intact as possible. Hence it is that we meet with so many repetitions, here and there with double histories, and variations in the spelling of proper names, etc.

We cannot doubt that the language of the time, or times, in which the amalgamation of the various documents took place left its mark on them; and that, when the square character was adopted instead of the earlier Phœnician

letter, much uniformity of grammar was a certain consequence; that the later Hebrew language has altered forms and expressions; and that words and phrases belonging rather to the age of Jeremiah than of Joshua may for this reason be found in the early books: but for all this, that the subject matter has been preserved to us very substantially as it appeared at the earliest date when it was reduced to writing.

If this were not so, if the thoughts and hopes of the later times of the Hebrew nation had been allowed to intrude themselves and to modify the primitive records, they would most surely have left their impress, and we should have seen a very different literature in the Pentateuch. For in the days of the prophets and psalmists problems were exercising men's minds such as had never been stirred in the more ancient times. In Deuteronomy temporal blessing is God's reward to His faithful ones. "Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey," is (Deut. vi. 3) the language of the covenant. But when we have reached the times of Jeremiah, we find that men's faith has been sorely tried. "Wherefore," he asks (xii. 1), "doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?" And the like questions concerning retribution, and the suffering of the innocent, are discussed in many a place in the Psalms.

Again, the attitude of God towards other nations than Israel is differently conceived in the prophets and in the Pentateuch. It may be that the Lord (Num. xiv. 21) swears, "As truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord"; but this glorification of God in the sight of the heathen has nothing in it which points to their admission into the kingdom of God. How widely

different is that other Divine oath (Isa. xlv. 22, 23)! "Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else. I have sworn by Myself, the word is gone out of My mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, That unto Me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear." In this spirit was the hundredth Psalm written, and with such thoughts Zechariah can write (xiv. 9) of a coming time when "the Lord shall be King over all the earth: in that day shall there be one Lord, and His name one."

Once more, the Messianic Hope, of which there are a few faint traces in the Pentateuch, is so developed in the Psalms and in the Prophets, that these latter writings are full of the Messiah, His person, His works, His nature, and almost every note of His character. Along with this development there rises the vision of immortality and a future life. Now these subjects are so far from finding any mention in the Pentateuch, that their absence was long ago made the foundation of an argument in the *Divine Legation of Moses*.

Further, we meet in the prophetic writings with many warnings concerning the coming of "the day of the Lord," and amid these some hardly doubtful premonitions of a future judgment: subjects which are out of the horizon of those to whom we are indebted for the originals of the Pentateuch.

Whatever therefore we may admit concerning the combination, or even the re-shaping, of the ancient Jewish documents, or concerning the modification of phrases and expressions by the diction of a later time, it is inconceivable that these books of the Pentateuch should any of them be, in any true sense, the composition of writers who lived at a time when the solemn topics, whose absence from the books of Moses is so conspicuous, were before the minds and on the tongues of all the men among whom, as we are

told, their author or authors must have flourished. Had these books been the product of the times of Jeremiah and Ezra and Nehemiah, some trace, yes, abundant traces, must have been introduced into them of truths which had grown by that day to be the very life of the religious in Israel.

J. RAWSON LUMBY.

THE LATE PROFESSOR DELITZSCH.¹

THE following article, written nearly a year ago, was read by the master who has since gone from us. On May 22nd, 1889, he wrote to me with reference to it: "You may consider it as a poem written in my honour, while I shall look upon it as a mirror, held up before me by a friendly hand. These twelve pages of yours are not merely a reflection of my image, but of your own—in describing me you have described yourself. I set great value on what you have written; to me it is like the fair sunset of our old friendship; I shall read it once and again, and while conscious of my own deficiencies, shall be conscious also of the unwearied affection which has drawn such a panegyric from you. When I am dead, then you of all others shall have the right to characterize me." And on July 6th he wrote: "I cannot see my way to alter my original decision, that such an article as this should not be published till after my death."

I now place the manuscript in the printer's hands, without improving upon it, or changing it to an obituary notice. It remains as Delitzsch read it, a picture of my master in his lifetime. I wish for this once to preserve it as it is. Later on, and in another place, I may be able to tell what he was and what he was to me.

MARBURG,
12th March, 1890.

HE who wishes to know the true character of the extraordinary man who, in his position, not only as a teacher of students, both of

¹ Translated from the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.

Germany and of foreign lands, but also as a writer of ceaseless activity in many departments of theological science, has exercised for a generation and a half a personal influence which cannot be measured by the extent of his known productions, will do well to study, along with his *Biblical Psychology*, the work which we are now considering.¹ "The subjects of these essays," says the author, "have long been pet children of my thoughts and feelings" (p. 3). Any one who has only heard Delitzsch in the professor's chair, or has merely read one of his commentaries,—perhaps not without surprise at many singular features and much that is foreign to the subject,—can form no idea of the fascination, the charm, the indescribable attraction, the winning and elevating influence, which his conversation in a little circle of friends, or in the yet more familiar *tête-à-tête*, have had for the many young men who have been honoured with his acquaintance during generations of students which it would now almost be impossible to count. Everything about these conversations was peculiar and remarkable. Even their outward surroundings had a character of their own; for the great scholar used, after his fashion, to forsake the quiet of his study for the noise of much-frequented places, that through the tumult round him he might concentrate his thoughts for these deeply earnest talks. Curious also was the nature of the intercourse. Delitzsch was a white-haired old man two-and-twenty years ago when I first knew him; since then he has not grown older in appearance, and at least seven generations of students have known and revered the same venerable figure. And this reverend old man condescends to converse with his young students as if they were his equals. The equalization is not indeed without its risks. It may be shaken by sharp and straightforward reproof, such as the free student will endure from none but so loved a master. The present writer—with all respect be it said—was perhaps somewhat spoiled in this way, and many a sharp word which Delitzsch published—on other subjects than his students—will be judged differently by those who got to know him in these confidential dialogues. I have read many criticisms of his books and also of his lectures; of these conversations with him I have heard but one opinion, in spite of all risks run by those who had to receive, and also sometimes to endure, only one word of love and

¹ Delitzsch, Franz: *Iris: Colour Studies and Flower Pieces*. (Leipzig, 1888.)

gratitude. This is all the more remarkable since the personal judgment of my revered master is always distinguished by subjective accuracy, but not always by objective correctness, which would raise his opinions above those of the rest of erring humanity.

There are few departments of human knowledge in which Delitzsch does not feel an intelligent interest. His sphere is not only theology, but philology and natural science. But vast circles of human life remain incomprehensible, if not indeed unknown to him; he passed through many, yet they remained unfamiliar. This very deficiency of comprehension—which is not unknown to the master himself, and of which the psychological explanation is easy—strengthens and deepens his understanding and his need of communication and sympathy in those departments in which, thinking and feeling with others, he gives forth with generous hand, without searching whither his kindness flows! Hence the incomparable energy both of mutual intercourse and of his personal influence in these more familiar circles.

It may appear somewhat bold in the writer of these lines, who entered the school of Delitzsch as a youth of nineteen, to write as he has done in a review of his master's book. But it was the author himself who accustomed him to this boldness and confidence in his dealings with him. It is, besides, allowable to point out deficiencies in our everywhere imperfect humanity, in cases where high qualities appear all the more clearly from the contrast. What I have said is entirely to the point. The pages of the book before us present a picture of the author's conversations—a picture which gives indeed a very incomplete idea of their rich material, and only an approximate idea of their sustained earnestness of tone. The author himself suggests the thought of connecting these essays with his conversations with the young men of his university, when, referring especially to the last two pieces in this collection, he remarks in the preface: "The sight of young men has a renewing influence upon me, even in my old age. I have always loved to bask in the reflection of everlasting life—fleeting though it be—which appears upon their faces; and from early youth the love of friendship has been my greatest pleasure" (p. 3).

A number of lectures and essays on very various subjects have been collected to form this volume. All have already been printed

in different places, the oldest piece in the year 1859, the others in the sixties and seventies. Most of them are "Colour Pictures" ("Sky-Blue," "Black and White," "Purple and Scarlet," "Academical Costume and its Colours," "The Talmud and Colours"). Others are "Flower Pieces" ("A Chat about Flowers and their Scents," "A Questionable Nosegay," "The Flower Riddle of the Queen of Sheba"). Along with these, and probably intended to be classed symbolically with the flower pieces, we find two studies of a different nature; one called, "The Bible and Wine," and the other bearing the original title, "Mutual Relationship between Dancing and the Criticism of the Pentateuch." Last of all come two studies in which the flower pieces pass over into the region of ethics: "Love and Beauty," "Eternal Life and Eternal Youth."

A varied collection, truly, which well deserves the name of "Iris." "Iris is the prismatic colour-picture of the rainbow; Iris the brilliant-hued sword-lily; Iris that wonderful portion of the eye which gives it its colour. Iris is also the messenger of the gods, radiant with joy, youth, beauty, and love. The varied contents of my book harmonize in all respects with the rich variety of ideas which we associate with the name of Iris" (p. 3). A marvellous wealth of knowledge in very varied departments is here set before us in brilliant and playful style. As a result of original research, the essay on the "Talmud and Colours" is perhaps the most important in the volume. As showing the inner life of the author, the most characteristic is the lecture on "Love and Beauty," originally delivered in a students' union. No one but Delitzsch would have thought of speaking about Pentateuch criticism at a Leipzig "Professorium" and dancing party; no one else would have thought of discovering a "mutual relationship" between dancing and Pentateuch criticism, such as we find in the tenth of these pieces. "In ancient times people danced, and in later times they have danced; they danced much long ago, and in later times no less; they danced at feasts in the old days, and in modern times feasts have not been less cheerful—we offer this suggestion to the new school of Pentateuch critics" (p. 145).

The subject-matter of *Iris* is so varied that it is impossible to throw out a sketch of the whole; we can only characterize the author's mode of observation and perception.

Not only has the writer dealt with various subjects in his book,

there is something variegated and restless in his train of thought. For him restless surroundings produce inward recollection better than outward calm; in observing the changeful multitude of things around him he gains unity and quiet of thought. Another man would need to accustom himself by thought and experience to this method; but Delitzsch has lived in the writings of the rabbis, whose way it is to guess at the general conclusion by placing side by side a million cases of the particular without ever summarizing. Delitzsch even sees the particular in its separate form differently from other men, who have not succeeded, as he has, in making the oriental mode of thought a part of their life. What he sees becomes to him the image of something different; he does not think of things as they are, but as in a picture. The flower with which he plays while lecturing is to him not a hyacinth or a rose; it signifies something else, from the image of which he inhales the scent of the original flower. Fact and symbol melt one into the other. His prorectorial address on academic costume and its colours, *i.e.* on dress, is justified as not unworthy of a theologian by a reference to Scripture, where we read that "Isaiah saw the Lord high and lifted up, and His train filled the temple"—the robe there appearing as part of the divinity (p. 60). The typology of the Erlangen school has with Delitzsch grown out of his own peculiar mode of thinking and living. The whole history of humanity, not less than his own life and the life of those he loves, is to him type and antitype. It is not everything, however, that serves him as a type; there are certain features only which he particularly observes. Delitzsch has a mind which appreciates colours and scents, and thus in nature he loves flowers and in humanity the rosy flower-freshness of youth. But he does not see the forms of the figures. He describes the Bride in the Song of Solomon as "a childlike soul in a tender body woven as it were out of the scent of flowers" (p. 102). He can give the colouring; he cannot draw the shape. He gives us kaleidoscopic pictures; the outline is wanting. So it is in his theological typology. A character is not the image of a personality, but certain features of the type correspond to those of the antitype. Everywhere we see his tendency to spend his strength on the manifold features of the particular, without blending the many into a unity. If we look upon the author as an artist and a poet—which unquestionably he is—then we miss in him

the antique simplicity. If we understand Romanticism otherwise than in its historical sense as applied to the distinct school with its catholicizing tendencies, then Delitzsch, more than any theologian of our day, belongs to the Romantic school. Judaism has its Romanticism in the *Cabbala*. There is a certain indistinct relationship between Delitzsch and the Cabbalists.

Among these sketches, there is only one on a historical subject, that, namely, which deals with the "questionable nosegay" of Luther at the Leipzig disputation. The subject is of trifling importance. The historical matter which we find in the prorectorial address on the colours of the faculties is not of great importance. Another inquirer would have given up the subject because of the insufficient historical material; but with Delitzsch the description is at its best when the history ends, and the play of colours and ideas is witty and beautiful. The examination of the flower-riddle of the Queen of Sheba is full of happy ingenuity and clever arrangement. It does not deal with historical developments, but only with connexions. The author has often already shown his strength in finding and proving these. (Think only of his *Studies on the Complutensian Polyglot*.) Delitzsch is not however a true historian. He wants power to comprehend human society as an organism, i.e. as the State. Although it is characteristic of him that the depths as well as the heights of human society attract his attention, still he is just as little of a democrat as of a courtier. He feels only a slight interest, moreover, in the development of society. But the history of the human mind, that of the theological idea not excepted, can be thoroughly understood only on the page of State and national history. The Erlangen "history of salvation" is no true history. According to it, a piece of machinery, prepared beforehand in heaven, is gradually and in its several parts let down to earth. From the peculiar nature of the subject-matter arises the corresponding mode of presentation. Here also Delitzsch deals much in contrasts. Jest and earnest meet us side by side; the sublime and—not indeed the trivial, but a certain contrasting something, which I hardly know how to characterize; something which in itself is ordinary, but which, by the manner of its introduction, becomes more than ordinary. No human mind can walk continually among the starry heights; and with Delitzsch the middle regions are wanting. But it is remarkable that the contrasts rarely jar upon us. Above all, no

disturbing impression arises as regards ethical or religious elevation—a proof how pure and strong that elevation is. This is true of his writings, and even more true of his lectures. To follow nature in these matters is also the only artistic means of maintaining the ideal height. Sometimes of his accord descending from that height, Delitzsch writes in a style which we may describe as quaint; but he consistently avoids the well-known dangerous step which leads from the sublime into a hostile and yet adjacent region.

My sketch looks almost as if it were meant to be a silhouette of the author. It is not intended to be such, and if it were, could not resemble him. The book before us is of such a kind that we cannot speak of it without speaking also of the author's peculiar mode of *seeing*. That is all I spoke of. In order to sketch in shadowy outline the person of this great scholar and noble-minded man, I should have had to draw lines which I purposely avoided. Our mode of seeing is indeed a part of ourselves, but only a part. If I have treated this part somewhat frankly, the frankness itself, I trust, is evidently such as was possible only along with reverential love; and along with that love it was unavoidable. I did not know how otherwise to write of this book, and it was the author himself who bade me write. This request must also be the justification of an exception, as for some years I have declined the request of the editors of this journal and of other authors to resume my former work as a reviewer in these pages.

I wish to add one word in conclusion with reference to the sketch of the writer's personality. In Delitzsch's treatment of biblical science it has been more than once remarked, that there is a contradiction between frank exercise and anxious rejection of criticism. It is a contrast which may appear to others as a contradiction, but which appears quite otherwise to Delitzsch. His conclusions about the sacred history are almost entirely independent of his conclusions about the sources. The latter rest on ordinary criticism, the former on original intuition. As the two are in a certain sense independent, and are concerned with different spheres of thought, they do not come into conflict for one who judges them so. On the result of the source-criticism, not on that criticism itself, falls the illumination of the historical image which has been independently gained. Delitzsch understands how to blend together contrasts into a subjective unity; and we have here

one of the most attractive features of his personality, although not perhaps one which should be directly imitated. To this entirely original personality, whom no one could with impunity undertake to imitate, these words may in a special sense be applied :

“ Nicht alles ist an eins gebunden,
Seid nur nicht mit euch selbst in Streit
Mit Liebe endigt man, was man erfunden,
Was man gelernt, mit Sicherheit.”

W. BAUDISSIN.

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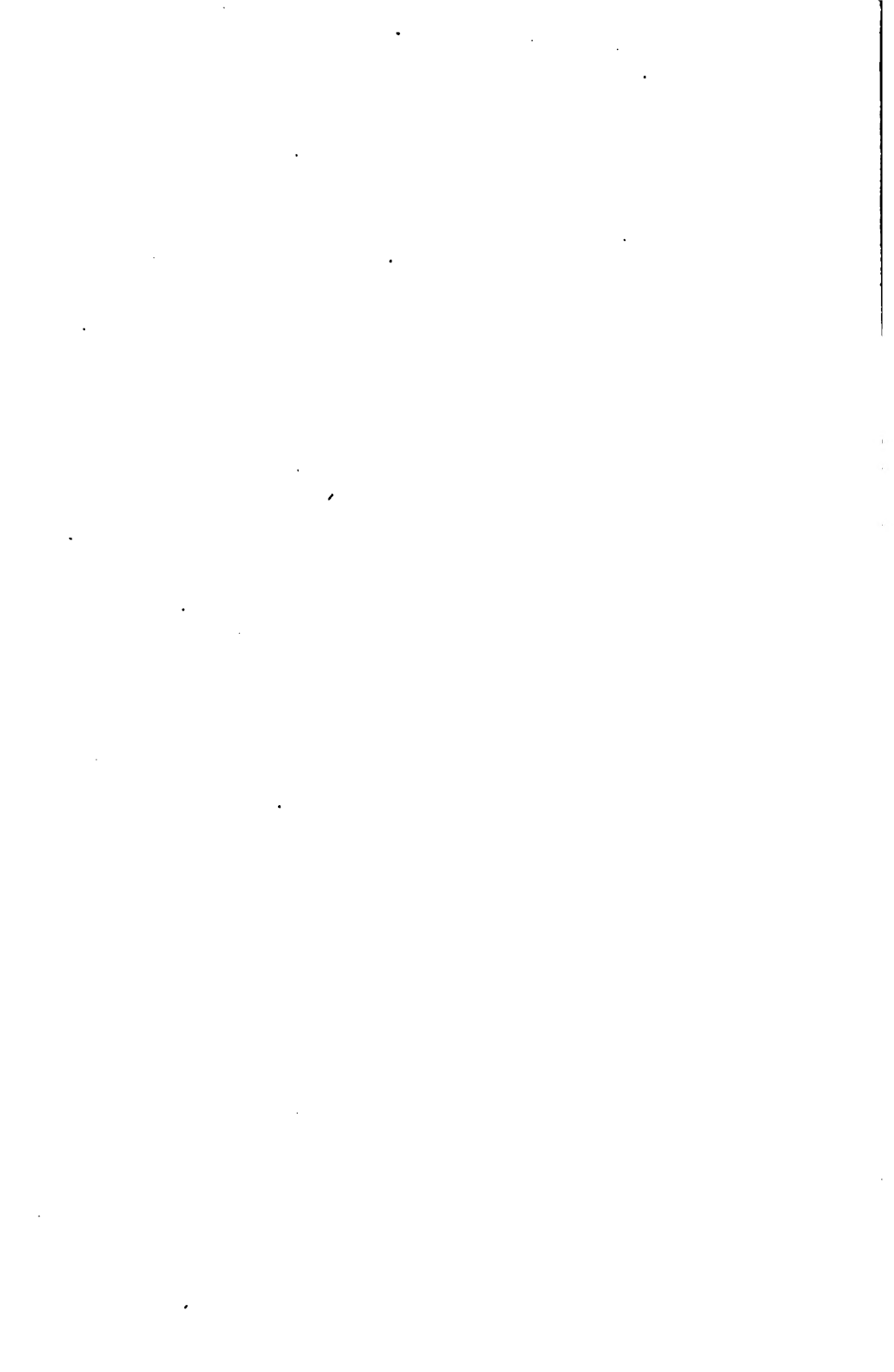
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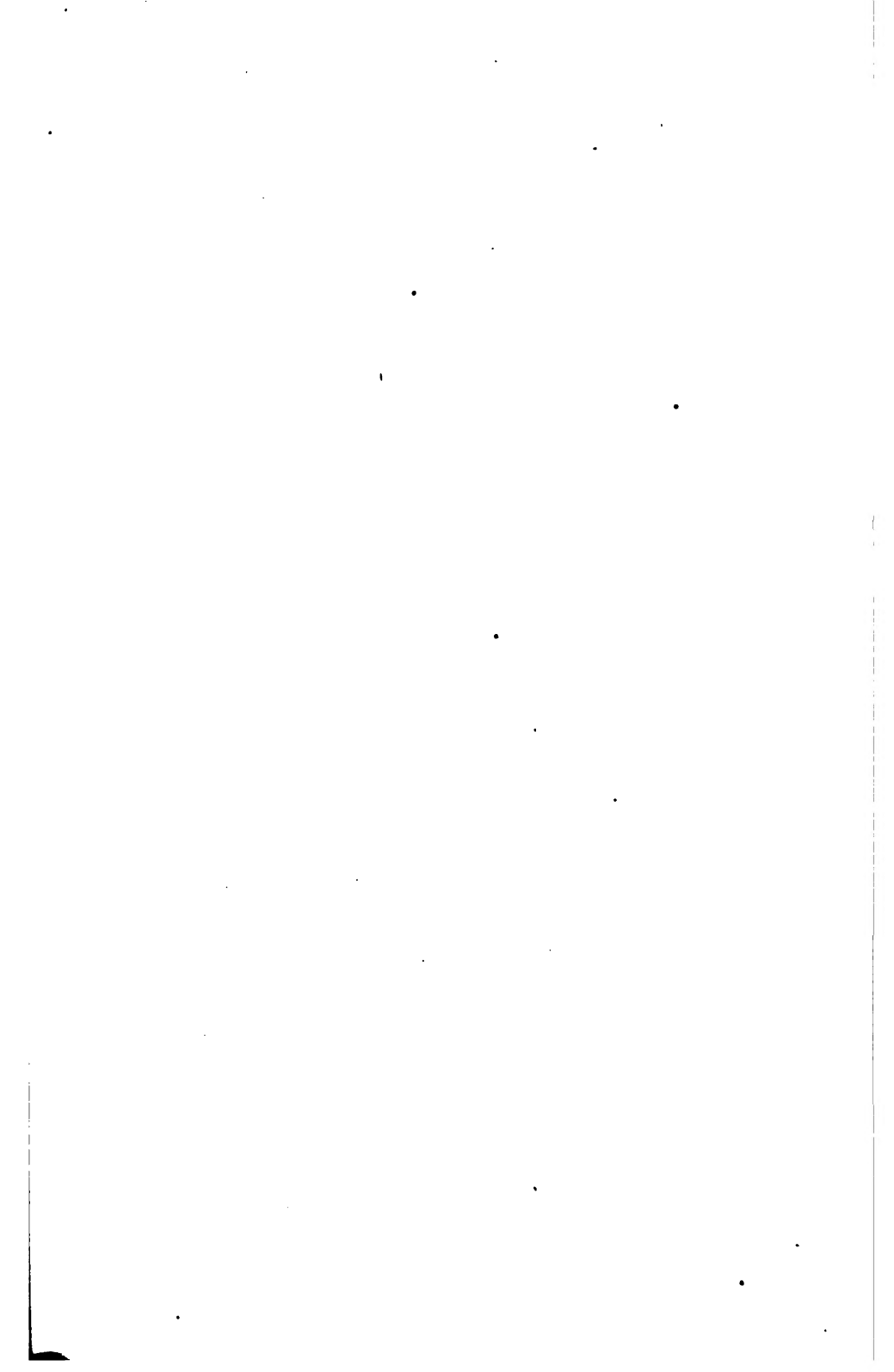
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